THE

MADRAS JOURNAL OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

MADRAS:
PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRESS.

The Madras Journal of Literature and Science

FOR THE SESSION

1888-89.

EDITED BY

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(EDITORIAL SECRETARY).

PUBLISHED BY THE
MADRAS LITERARY SOCIETY AND AUXILIARY OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, OLD COLLEGE, NUNGUMBAUKUM.

1889.

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PROCEEDINGS.

FIRST MEETING.

The first ordinary meeting of the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society for the Session 1888-89 took place on Thursday, the 22nd November, at 5-30 P.M., in the Reading Room of the Old College, Nungumbaukum.

Surgeon-General G. Bidie, M.B., C.I.E., in the chair.

The following papers were read :—

1. The Legend of St. Thomas, by the Rev. G. Milne Rae, M.A.
2. Notes on the recent Cyclone, by Mr. C. Michie Smith, B.Sc.
3. On Indo-Danish Coins, by Mr. T. M. Ranga Chari, B.A., and Mr. T. Desika Chari, B.A.

SECOND MEETING.

The second ordinary meeting of the Society took place on Thursday, the 13th December, at 5-30 P.M., in the Reading Room of the Old College, Nungumbaukum.

The following paper was read :—

1. Symbolism on Indian Coins, Part I, "Punch marked," by Mr. T. M. Scott.

THIRD MEETING.

The third ordinary meeting of the Society took place on Wednesday, the 6th February, at 5-30 P.M., in the Reading Room of the Old College, Nungumbaukum.

The Hon'ble Mr. Grose, C.S., in the chair.

The following papers were read :—

1. On the terms Gaudian and Kolarian, by Mr. G. Oppert, Ph.D.
2. On the Coins of the Sethupatis, by Rev. J. E. Tracy, M.A.

The Legend of St. Thomas.

(By The Rev. GEORGE MILNE RAE, M.A.)

In the neighbourhood of Madras there are three 'holy' places associated with the name of St. Thomas the Apostle. They are St. Thomas' Mount, the Little Mount, and Maylapur or (as it was also called by the Portuguese) St. Thomé. At each a church was built; and for a cross, a cave, and a grave these churches are respectively remarkable.

St. Thomas' Mount (eight miles south-west of Fort St. George) is remarkable for a stone cross of the Greek type in the church at the top of the hill. It was found in connection with some excavations made by the Portuguese in 1547 at the time when the church was built and when the stone-steps up the hill-side were laid. It may now be seen above the altar. It is in bas-relief, cut on a tablet of dark granite. At the top of the upright shaft is figured a bird, like a dove, with its wings expanded "as the Holy Ghost is usually represented when descending on our Lord at his baptism or on our Lady at her annunciation." There is a Pahlavi inscription on it, which runs archwise over the cross, and is divided into two unequal parts by a mark like the *plus* sign in algebra. Of this Pahlavi inscription the Portuguese discoverers could make nothing; but certain learned brahmans, perceiving what was desired, speedily rendered the few words into a concise confession of the whole Christian faith, ending with a full and particular account of the martyrdom of St. Thomas. Certain gifted eyes, we are told, have seen on this stone stains of apostolic blood and have on occasions witnessed the miraculous phenomenon of a bloody sweat. But not to

dwell on this, the inscription is of real importance. It helps not only towards the discovery of its date, which experts have put as early as the seventh or eighth century—proving the existence of a church there 1,200 years ago—but also towards determining the connection of the church on this coast with that in Malabar, both having been Nestorian. The inscription in fact contains, as I believe, a pet heresy peculiar to Indian Nestorianism.[1]

The Little Mount (six miles south-west of Fort St. George) is the traditionary site of the Apostle's martyrdom. There is a cave in the rock, where it is asserted that St. Thomas took refuge from his pursuers. A church stands over it. On one side of the cave there is an opening or window, which the uninitiated might suppose to be intended merely for the admission of air and light; but visitors must understand that, in the attempt to escape through this opening, the Apostle was speared and slain. Outside the church and near the top of the rock on which it is built there is a cleft, which a natural spring replenishes with water all the year round. This spring was created, we are told, to supply the saint with water during the period of his concealment in the cave; and not long ago two pilgrims are said to have come hither from Edessa and filled some bottles with the sacred water to carry back to their own country.

Within the precincts of the cathedral of Maylapur or St. Thomé (three miles south of Fort St. George) there is a little chapel, built over what is popularly regarded as the grave of St. Thomas. A trap-door in front of the altar gives access to the grave, and many a handful of the dust is carried off by the faithful wherewith to cure diseases. Over the altar is a quaint old scrinium with a cruciform reliquary in which are deposited some of the ashes and the

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[1] See my Article on "The Syrian Christians of South India," in the *London Quarterly Review* for October 1887.

bones of the Apostle, together with fragments of the spear by which he won the crown of martyrdom. These things may be seen there to-day, and great are the annual gatherings at the festivals observed on the 3rd of July and the 18th and 21st of December.

The early history of Maylapur it is difficult to trace, and little help is derived from the etymology of the name. Still it is needful to note this etymology as helping to explain some of the stories that superstitious ingenuity has invented for the purpose of connecting the name of the place etymologically with the story of St. Thomas. The purana of the Maylapur temple, I am told, states that the place derived its name from the circumstance that Siva's wife appeared there to her lord in the form of a (*mayil* =) pea-fowl. Maylapur would mean, therefore, peacock-town, and hence peacock-stories form part of the legendary lore that has gathered round the name of St. Thomas. Thus Marco Polo [2] in the thirteenth century and Duarte Barbosa [3] in the sixteenth both relate stories very different in detail, according to which St. Thomas was accidentally shot by an arrow aimed at a peacock.

But the little chapel attached to the cathedral of Maylapur is not the only place that claims the honor of possessing relics of the Apostle. Relics of him have been preserved since the first quarter of the sixteenth century in St. Thomas' Church at Goa. As these are known to have been carried thither in 1522 from Maylapur under the direction of the Portuguese viceroy, its claim to the original proprietorship is not thereby invalidated. But the same cannot be said regarding the claim made by another city, outside of India, whose early appearance and prominent place in Christian

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[2] The Book of Ser Marco Polo, B. III, c. xviii.

[3] "East Africa and Malabar in the Sixteenth Century," published by the Hakluyt Society, p. 175.

history are beyond all dispute. That city is Edessa, the capital of the province of Osrohene in Mesopotamia. Its connection with the Apostle enters into literature in the form of a very bold legend. For when, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, Abgarus its king was sick, he sent a letter to Jesus Christ, begging Him to come and heal him, offering at the same time to share his kingdom with 'the excellent Saviour' and to protect him from the Jews. Abgarus, it is said, received a written reply to the effect that Jesus had work which He might not leave; but He would send one of His disciples to cure the king of his disease. Now it was Thomas, who, according to the legend, was appointed as Christ's amanuensis to write the letter to Abgarus, and it was Thomas who 'by a divine impulse' sent Thaddeus (or Addeus as he is perhaps oftener called) to Edessa.

Eusebius[4] informs us that he himself found these letters among the records of the church of Edessa; and, whatever may be said about their authenticity, the fact of their being so found is not to be called in question. Curiously, in our own day, the same documents re-appear. For Dr. Cureton found, among the MSS. acquired in 1841, 1843, and 1847 by the British Museum from the Nitrian Monastery in Lower Egypt, "a considerable portion of the Aramaic document which Eusebius cites as preserved in the archives of Edessa;"[5] and these MSS. are of great importance in the history of the literature that has gathered round the name of St. Thomas.

The assignation of India to Thomas as the sphere of his apostolic labours has indeed been all but universal among ecclesiastical historians and other writers. But it is only when we go back to the sources of the story that anything approaching to a satisfactory conclusion on the question

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[4] Eccles. Hist., B. I, c. 13.

[5] See Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. XX., *Syriac Documents*, p. 1.

can be reached. In what literature is the name of St. Thomas first associated with India? It will appear, I think, that the home of that literature, the original hot-bed in which it was reared, was no other than the Church of Edessa. For there is no other place within the area occupied by the language in which those works were written, that had any such interest in the fortunes and destiny of the Apostle. The story of Thomas' preaching and martyrdom in India is first found in the *Apocryphal Acts of Thomas;* and it is curious to note that throughout that work the Apostle is generally called *Judas* Thomas, a name which he also receives in that group of documents which Eusebius found among the archives of Edessa. It is a palpably gnostic work, and students of gnosticism, judging from the stage of development at which they find that heresy in the *Acts,* assign it to the end of the second century. It may have been written by Bardesanes (*b.* 155, *d.* 223).[6] But whoever the real author was, I think that the details of this work are not only consistent with the belief that they were put together by a member of the Edessene Church, but almost defy explanation on any other hypothesis.

The substance of the *Acts of the Holy Apostle Thomas* and the *Consummation of Thomas the Apostle* is as follows:

The apostles were all in Jerusalem and they portioned out the regions of the world among them. By lot India fell to Judas Thomas, also called Didymus. And he did not wish to go, saying that he was not able on account of the weakness of the flesh. And how can I, being an Hebrew man, go among the Indians to proclaim the truth? And while he was thus reasoning and speaking, the Saviour appeared to him through the night and said to him: Fear not, Thomas, go away to India and proclaim the word; for my grace shall be with thee. But he

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[6] Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 853, attributes it to Leucius Charinus. But who or what this Leucius was, whether a writer or a mere collector of Apocryphal literature, no one seems to know. Dr. George Salmon regards him (Smith's Dic. Chr. Biog.) as "a fictitious personage."

did not obey, saying: Wherever thou wishest to send me, send me elsewhere; for to the Indians I am not going.

And as he was thus speaking and growing angry, there happened to be there a certain merchant come from India, by name Abbanes, sent from the king Gondophares, and having received an order from him to buy a carpenter. And the Lord, having seen him walking about in the market at noon, said to him: Dost thou want a carpenter? And he said to him, Yes. And the Lord said to him: I have a slave a carpenter and I wish to sell him. And having said this, he showed him Thomas at a distance and agreed with him for three pounds of uncoined silver. Next day Thomas came to the Lord and said: Thy will be done. Then Abbanes and he began to sail away. And they had a fair wind and they sailed fast until they came to Andrapolis, a royal city.

And when they arrived there, the marriage feast of the king's daughter was being celebrated, and Thomas accompanied Abbanes to the feast, and when he saw them all reclining, he reclined also in the midst. But he would neither eat nor drink, and a flute-girl, a Hebrew by race, stood and played over him a long time, and presently he sang a Hebrew song setting forth the praises of the bride, which no one save the Hebrew flute-girl understood. Meanwhile, a naughty cup-bearer struck the stranger and Thomas quietly replied that God would forgive him in the world to come, but the hand that had been lifted against His Apostle would be dragged along by a dog. And so it came to pass, for the cup-bearer, having gone to the fountain to draw water, met a lion there and the lion rent him in pieces, and the dogs immediately seized his limbs, among which also one black dog, laying hold of his right hand in his mouth, brought it to the place of the banquet. And when it was proved to be the hand of the cup-bearer, who had struck the Apostle, the flute-girl broke her flutes in pieces and threw them away and went and sat down at the feet of Thomas, saying, This man is either God or God's Apostle. And the king having heard, came and said to him: Rise up and go with me and pray for my daughter, for she is my only child and to-day I give her away. And having prayed and laid his hands on them, he said: 'The

Lord will be with you,' and he left them in the place and went away.

But when the bridegroom lifted the curtain which separated him from his bride, he saw Thomas, as he supposed, conversing with her. Then he asked in surprise, how canst thou be found here, did I not see thee go out before all? And the Lord answered I am not Judas Thomas, but his brother. And the Lord sat down and ordered them also to sit down and called on them to remember what his brother had said to them. He taught them all the anxieties, troubles and temptations which result from the procreation of children, and promised them that, if they kept themselves chaste, they should partake of the true marriage and enter the bride chamber full of light and immortality. The young couple obeyed this exhortation much to the grief of the king, who ordered Thomas to be apprehended; but he and Abbanes were already on their way and so escaped his hands.

And when they came into the cities of India, Abbanes brought him into the presence of the king. And Gondophares asked, wilt thou be able to build me a palace? I shall begin, said Thomas, in October and end in April. And the Apostle, having taken a reed, measured the place and marked it out, and he set the doors towards the rising of the sun to look to the light and the windows towards its setting to look to the winds; and he made the bake-house to be towards the south and the water-tank, for abundance, towards the north. And the king, seeing this, said to the Apostle: Thou art a craftsman indeed and it is fitting that thou shouldest serve kings.

Large advances of gold and silver the Apostle received to pay the workmen withal, but these he dispensed to the poor. And when the time came, the king asked whether the palace was finished, and the Apostle said that it was. And when shall we go to see it? Now thou canst not see it, but when thou hast departed this life thou shalt see it. And the king, being angry, thrust Thomas into prison and was meditating how he should be killed; but his brother Gad was so affected by the insult thus offered to the king that he suddenly died. And in the other world he saw a palace so beautiful that he begged the

angels to let him live in its lowest chambers; but they answered that it could not be, for this was his brother's palace, erected by the Christian. Gad therefore asked and obtained leave from the angels to go back to the world that he might buy the palace from his brother. Then king Gondophares and Gad became followers of the Apostle and begged for the seal of baptism and the Apostle sealed them and they heard the voice of the Lord, saying "Peace to you, brethren!"

The story would not be complete without some enumeration of further miracles, to which the writer attached a great deal of importance. There are three notable miracles, (1) *about the dragon and the young man*, (2) *about the demon that dwelt in the woman*, (3) *about the young man that killed the maiden*. It would be tedious to relate these miracles. There is no beauty in them; on the contrary, they verge on indecency. The object of the writer, or at least one main object, seems to have been to advocate the practice of celibacy as a Christian institution. It is not merely the celibacy of the clergy that he enjoins, but the celibacy of every member of the church of St. Thomas. To this doctrine too he gave retrospective effect, dissolving the bonds of holy wedlock in the case of such married persons as became his disciples. The married life was treated by him as absolutely unlawful. This apostolic preacher is represented as having done a good work, when a couple about to consummate their wedding have been prevailed on to abandon their design, or when a wife has been persuaded to refuse further intercourse with her husband. That all generation is sin seems to have been his thesis, and it is as the martyr of this contemptible cause that Thomas is pictured in the Apocryphal Acts. For when he left the court of Gondophares and arrived at that of Misdeus, he converted Mygdonia,[7] the wife of the chief

[7] Mygdonia is the name of a province in the north-east of Macedonia, adjoining Osrohene. This sister-in-law of Misdeus may, therefore, have been either a native of that province or otherwise connected with it by family ties.

minister, who, in obedience to the Apostle's instructions, refused to live any longer with Charisius, her husband; and the king had hardly received Charisius' complaint on the subject when he discovered that his own wife, Mygdonia's sister, as well as his son, Juzanes, had both become converts to the same doctrine.

Then at the command of Misdeus, King of India, the blessed Apostle Thomas was cast into prison, and he said, I glorify God, and I shall preach the word to the prisoners, so that all rejoiced at his presence. . . . . And Thomas went and found the jailors fighting and saying: What wrong have we done to that sorcerer that, availing himself of his magic art, he has opened the door of the prison, and wishes to set all the prisoners free? And when he came, they stripped him and girded him with a girdle, and thus they stood before the king. And how, said Misdeus, hast thou run away and come to this country? And Thomas said: I came here that I might save many, and that I might by thy hands depart from this body. And the king became impatient and he arose and took Thomas outside of the city, and a few soldiers accompanied him with their arms. And when they had gone forth three stadia, he delivered him to four soldiers and to one of the polemarchs and ordered them to take him into the mountain[8] and to spear him;[9] but he himself returned to the city.

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[8] The name of the place is usually given in early authorities as *Calamina*, which has been sadly tortured by etymologizers. (1) A Dravidian etymology has been boldly provided for it. First it is changed into Calurmina and then we are told that *Calur* = a stone or rock, and *mina* = upon! See Whitehouse's *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land*, p. 12, note. (2) A Semitic derivation has been provided. And in this attempt there may be hope, but not on the lines which are usually followed. Thus Mr. Logan in his Manual of Malabar seems to adopt a suggestion by Bp. Melius, according to which *Calamina* is another form of *Golomath*, a Syriac word, meaning hill-town, the same, it is alleged, as Maylapur; so that the name Calamina is in some sense a translation of the name Maylapur. But (*a*) this assumes that Maylapur is derived from *malai* = a hill, which is by no means to be assumed. Such a derivation had indeed the sanction of the late Dr. Burnell, but it is said by other experts to be open to linguistic objection, and, moreover, is topographically inapplicable, as Maylapur *in rerum natura* is not near any hill

But long afterwards, when one of the king's sons became demoniac, Misdeus opened the Apostle's tomb to find a bone, wherewith to touch and cure his son. But, behold, no bones were there, for one of the brethren had carried them away to the region of the west.[10] Wherefore he took some dust from the place where the bones had lain, and touched his son with it and immediately the devil left him. Then Misdeus met with the brethren under the rule of Syphorus,[11] "a presbyter in the mountain," and entreated them to pray for him that he might obtain mercy through Jesus Christ.

Will it be maintained by any reader of this story that it bears any marks of South India, or that it could have been

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from which it could take its name. (*b*) This assumes that Maylapur is as old as the first or second century of the Christian era, which is not to be assumed. And (*c*) it assumes that the writers of these early legends were familiar with the whereabouts of Maylapur, which also is not to be assumed.

9 The late Dr. Kennet, in his *S. Thomas the Apostle of India* (Madras, Addison & Co., 1882), printed as an appendix a Latin hymn from the *Mozarabic Breviary*, edited by Cardinal Lorenzana in 1775. The hymn is entitled *Hymnus in Festo Sancti Thomæ Apostoli—ad Vesperum*, and tells the story nearly as I have told it above. It will be seen from the following stanzas that the author of the hymn represents the death of St. Thomas as having been caused by an infuriated priest of a temple of the Sun, which would imply that in his opinion the kingdom of Misdeus must have lain within the area of sun worship, *i.e.*, towards the Persian side.

Templum Solis comminutum
  Corruit cum idolo;
Ac metallum pretiosum,
  Solvitur in pulverem;
Rex illius civitatis,
  Fugit cum Carisio.

Tunc sacerdos idolorum
  Furibundus astitit,
Gladio transverberavit
  Sanctum Christi martyrem,
Glorioso passionis
  Laureatum sanguine.

10 Another text adds that they were carried to Edessa. It is pertinent, however, to ask here whether a writer, who knew the localities, would have expressed himself thus? Would any man, writing from Maylapur, speak of Edessa as being in the region of the west? I trow not. Edessa, long. 38° 40′ E., lat. 37° 6′ N.; Maylapur, long. 80° 14′ E., lat. 13° 4′ N. The important point to note, however, is that after all Thomas gets to Edessa.

11 Is Syphorus or Syphor the same as the Persian name Sapor?

written by a man who professed to have any knowledge whatever of our peninsula? Is there a single name of person or place mentioned in any part of it that will bear a moment's comparison with South Indian names? The evidence is all the other way, and the only link that connects the *Acts of Thomas* with history is the name of the king whose court he visited. Within the Victorian era, interesting discoveries have been made in consequence of the extension of our Indian frontier towards the north-west and the escapades of our army into Afghanistan, which tend to show that there was in the first century a king in that region of the name of Gondophares, who is most probably to be identified with the king of our story.

Numerous coins bearing Greek legends—certainly not less than 30,000 in number and ranging over a period of more than three centuries—have been found in Kabul and the Punjab. The greater number belong to the series of pure Greek princes, who ruled over the Indian provinces of Alexander the Great. The remainder belong to their Scythian conquerors and to their Indo-Parthian contemporaries. Among these Indo-Parthian princes is to be reckoned Gondophares.

The inscription on the obverse side of these Gondophares coins is in Greek characters; on the reverse side in Indian Pali. The Greek form of the name is, on the horseman coins, *ΓΟΝΔΟΦΑΡΟΥ*, on the bust coins *ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΡΟΥ*; while the Indian Pali equivalent is *Gudapharasa* or *Gadapharasa*.

The important questions concerning Gondophares are where and when did he rule? Both are answered in the following extract from General Cunningham[12]:—"The coins of Gondophares are common in Kabul, Kandahar, and Sistan, and in the Western and Southern Punjab. All these

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[12] See his paper on "Coins of Indian Buddhist Satraps with Greek Inscriptions," being No. 7 of 1854, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XXIII, pp. 711-2.

countries, therefore, must have owned his sway. He was besides the head and founder of his family, as no less than three members of it claim relationship with him on their coins, viz., *Orthagnes,* his full brother, *Abdagases,* his nephew, and *Sasa* (or *Sasan*), a more distant relation. The coins of Orthagnes are found in Sistan and Kandahar, those of Abdagases and Sasan in the Western Punjab. I presume, therefore, that they were the viceroys of those provinces on the part of the great king Gondophares, who himself resided at Kabul. All the names are those of Parthians, but the language of the coins is Indian Pali. Abdagases is the name of the Parthian chief, who headed the successful revolt against Artabanus in A.D. 44. The great power of Gondophares and the discovery of a coin of Artabanus, countermarked with the peculiar monogram[13] of all the Gondopharian dynasty, make it highly probable that the Indo-Parthian Abdagases was the same as the Parthian chief, whose revolt is recorded by Tacitus (*Annal.* xv. 2) and Josephus (*Antiqua,* xx. iii. 2). This surmise is very much strengthened by the date of the revolt (A.D. 44), which would make Gondophares a contemporary of St. Thomas."

Further light regarding the period of Gondophares' government is derived from an inscription on the Taht-i-Bahi stone, the history of which must be briefly told. Taht-i-Bahi,[14] situated 28 miles to the north-east of Peshawar,

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[13] This monogram is thought by Prinsep to be a combination of the *b*, *m*, and *n* of the old Sanscrit alphabet (*Journal, As. Soc., Bengal,* July 1838, p. 653). Professor H. H. Wilson quotes but does not approve this suggestion (*Ariana Antiqua,* p. 340), nor does he suggest any other explanation. Cunningham regards it as a pictorial representation of the compound name *gandaphor* = "sugar-cane crusher," from the circumstance that the outer channels for the cane juice in a sugar mill are chiselled in the very form of this peculiar monogram.

[14] Besides two other reservoirs higher up, there is one at the foot of the hill, where it joins the plain, concerning which the people have a tradition that it is connected with the Indus by an underground channel. Such a reservoir is in the colloquial called *Bahai,* hence the name of the hill and the ruins. Taht-i-Bahi = the seat of the reservoir.

is an isolated hill, 1,771 feet above sea-level, or about 570 feet above the plain. The ruins of a city on this hill have yielded many trophies to the archæological explorer. The stone in question, which is 17½ inches long by 14½ broad, was discovered by Dr. Bellew and presented by him to the Lahore Museum, though we are indebted to Dr. Leitner for bringing it into notice. Unfortunately for history, this stone was used for many years, perhaps for many centuries, for the grinding of spices, so that all the middle part of the inscription has suffered and become indistinct, and some portions have been obliterated altogether. The whole inscription consisted of six lines of writing. It can be inferred from the concluding part of the inscription, imperfect as it is, that the stone commemorates the building of a *stupa* or a *vihar* by some pious Buddhist "for his own religious merit and for the religious merit of his father and his mother." The first two lines, which contain the name of the king and the date, are translated by Professor Dowson [15] as follows :—"In the twenty-sixth year of the great king Gondophares (and) on the third day of the month Vaisákha; (year) one hundred (100) of the Samvatsara." [16] As the Samvatsara or era of Vikramaditya corresponds to 56 B.C., the date on the stone, according to this reading, would be 44 A.D.

The result of the testimony derived from coins and from the Taht-i-Bahi stone is that an Indo-Parthian king of the name of Gondophares ruled over India in the first Christian century and that his India coincides with the Punjab and Afghanistan and does not include Peninsular India.

To sum up the testimony of the *Acts of Thomas :* When Abbanes concluded the bargain for the slave and got a receipt

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[15] See *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* (New Series), vol. VII, art. xviii (Trübner & Co., 1875), pp. 376, ss.

[16] It is but fair to note that archæological experts are not agreed about the inscription on the Taht-i-Bahi stone, and perhaps the above reading, though the last, is not final.

for his money, the two together sailed, we may suppose, from some Levantine port, such as Jaffa; and, after passing through the strait or canal which has been reproduced in our own day in the form of the Suez Canal, they sailed down the Red Sea and then northward, touching at some port near the mouth of the Indus, where they halted for some time. Then they made their way into the interior and arrived at the court of Gondophares. The Apostle's next move was towards the court of another Indian king of the name of Misdeus, who was most probably a viceroy under Gondophares, or the ruler of some neighbouring state, by whom he was put to death.

But the facts have been construed in ways different from this, so as to consist with the tradition that St. Thomas really visited Southern India. It has been maintained that, though St. Thomas may have gone to the royal court of Gondophares in the Punjab or Afghanistan, yet he did not tarry there for ever but went further. There was nothing, it is said, to hinder St. Thomas to return to Andrapolis and take ship and make for Malabar. The geography even of Peninsular India was known to the commercial, the political, and the learned world of the first century, and why should it be considered a strange or an impossible thing for one of the twelve apostles to have a moderate share of the knowledge of the period? Besides, it is added, the legend itself provides for this, inasmuch as the Apostle is said to have gone to the country of another king, even Misdeus, and there to have lost his life. Why may this Misdeus not have been king of Maylapur?[17]

Now, it may at once be granted that the knowledge of the geography of Southern India in St. Thomas' day was quite sufficient for the suggested contingency. Strabo, who

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[17] See *Mediæval Missions*, by Thomas Smith, D.D., Edinburgh; T. & T. Clark, 1880, pp. 248-9.

lived at a time contemporary with the birth of Christ, and flourished a quarter of a century thereafter, mentions that the circumnavigation of Cape Comorin from west to east was a thing not unheard of in his day, and that there was a great deal of trade between the ports of the Red Sea and the western coast of Peninsular India. Trade with India proper by way of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, at least as early as the beginning of the Christian era, is sufficiently well attested, and there is no reason on that score to doubt the possibility of an apostolic visit to Malabar.

At the same time, while I frankly admit that the geography of Southern India was well-known to the commercial, the political, and the learned world of the first century, it is not so easy to admit that the writers of the Apocryphal Acts could boast of high accomplishments in this department of learning.[18] It may be easy to admit that an Edessene author, writing at the close of the second century, could tell the name of a king who reigned at Kabul 150 years before; but difficult to acknowledge that the same author could pass a tolerable examination on the geography of Southern India.

Be that, however, as it may, the allegation that St. Thomas did ever actually visit our shores is utterly unsupported by any historical evidence. We may, of course, talk about Misdeus having possibly been king of Maylapur, but there is no record of the existence of any such king of that place. Moreover, if Misdeus was king of Maylapur, shouldn't Gondophares have been king of Malabar? But if ever the

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[18] One of them ventures on a definition of India and this is what he makes of it. "Historians declare," says the author of the Martyrdom of the Holy and Glorious Apostle Bartholomew, "that India is divided into three parts; and the first is said to end at Ethiopia, and the second at Media, and the third completes the country, and the one portion of it ends in the dark and the other in the ocean. To this India, then," adds the redoubted author, "the holy Bartholomew, the Apostle of Christ, went." See Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. XVI, p. 429; T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.

whereabouts of this Misdeus is disclosed to us in the future by the muse of history, it is much more likely that she will point to the Persian side, to the area within which there were temples of the Sun, and kings who measured their distances by *stadia* and called their officers *polemarchs*. It seems not improbable that he may turn out to have been an Indo-Parthian king.

But another construction of the facts, in consistency with the tradition that St. Thomas actually visited Southern India, is to be found in a Tamil manuscript, one of the Mackenzie collection. This manuscript is a translation from Latin by Nanapracasa Pillai, a Native Christian, who was probably trained by the Jesuits at Pondicherry, in whose library he most likely found the Latin manuscript. According to this story, St. Thomas first landed at the capital of the king of Malabar, which thus corresponds to Andrapolis in the Apocryphal Acts. Afterwards he crossed the country to Maylapur, which was at that time ruled by a learned, charitable, and courageous prince, named Candapa Raja (meant to be the Tamil equivalent of Gandapharasa or Gondophares).

The story, which is but a clumsy imitation of the *Apocryphal Acts of Thomas* but does not lead up to the Apostle's death, is as follows:—

In the days when this prosperous king *Candapa* ruled, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ having ascended to heaven, St. Thomas, according to the command just before given to him, was appointed to the charge of the country of India. Accordingly, after having preached the Holy Gospel and made disciples in various places of Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, he landed at first in the Malayala country. Having travelled much therein, he at length came near to the palace of the *Kerala Raja* and halted. Immediately on arriving there, he heard the sounds of splendid music, and, from wishing to satisfy himself as to what it was, he went directly to the public hall of the palace. On doing so he was astonished at seeing dancers exerting themselves with certain musical instruments, and vocal musicians

singing. As a stranger and unacquainted with the customs of this country, these things were to him new and surprising. Being desirous of seeing more of the palace of the king of the country, he there remained. Soon after one of the persons belonging to the palace, having charge of the interior, came up and seeing the stranger and from his appearance and inferior kind of dress judging him to be of low or vile caste, struck him a hard blow on the cheek.

The stranger, though the blow was a severe one, received it with great patience, and, retreating forthwith, went away outside. The officer of the palace also went forth into the street, and thence aside for a particular purpose; but while there a tiger that had proceeded from a large mountain seized and killed him. Thereupon as if it had been a dog, it ran at full speed towards the palace, having first bitten off the dead man's right hand, and, holding the same in its mouth, it carried the severed member into the midst of the king's assembly.[19] The king, being astonished, eagerly made inquiry concerning the prodigy from the learned men about him. They replied that it must be the hand which had struck a servant of God. In consequence, the king caused an investigation to be made among the by-standers, who were looking at the exhibition. These having narrated what had occurred, the king was greatly astonished, and sending out many people, directed them to invite the stranger with all courtesy to his hall of assembly. The men having gone out and made proclamation, he (the stranger) came to them. The king then caused him with great civility of attention to be invited and assured him of protection. Subsequently he instructed the king concerning the true God. The king gave instructions to the brahmans to dispute with him. Of the brahmans not one could successfully oppose him in argument. Whereupon, the king, giving assent to the truth of his doctrine, granted him permission to plant and spread

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19 The author may have obtained the story of the miracle here travestied direct from the *Acts* or from the writings of St. Augustine, who refers to it three times. See Dr. George Salmon's *Introduction to N.T.* (London, John Murray, 1885), p. 424, note.

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the Christian religion throughout his country, in consequence of which permission, he converted a hundred persons to the Christian religion.

One day when some brahmans were performing their evening ablutions in a river, he went near and entered into a discussion with them. At length he bade them cause the water, with which they were performing their evening ceremonies, to rise up even to the sun. They tried what they could do, and failing they at last said to St. Thomas, "Is it possible to cause water to rise up to the sun?" Whereupon he, looking up to the all-powerful God, first prayed and then poured out water, which immediately rose and went to the sun. These brahmans then embraced the Christian religion, and being ordained to the sacred office by the hands of Thomas, they became spiritual instructors, termed Casanayanars (Catanars?). In this way having turned many hundreds of persons to Christianity and having placed an inspector (overseer or bishop) in charge of them, he proceeded and came as far as to Maylapur.

He lodged there in a devastanam (or place of worship) belonging to Maylapur, and, working many miracles, turned a great many persons to Christianity. Such being the case, the brahmans, finding their religion to be losing its influence and authority, took counsel to effect by contrivance his being publicly hanged. To this end, when Thomas was asleep, the principal brahman of that temple killed his own son in the most sacred recess of the shrine, and then accused Thomas of the crime of doing so before *Candapa Raja*. The king caused Thomas to be called and inquired into the charge. Thomas said that, if he had killed the child, that child on being interrogated by the king would return no answer; but, if he had not killed the child, then on being interrogated it would. Accordingly, on the king calling out, the child rose up alive and said that Thomas had not committed the crime, but that its own father had done so. The king was greatly incensed against the brahman and, bestowing large praise on Thomas, took him under his own protection. Besides, on giving him leave to dispute with the brahmans, he always conquered in the discussion. The king

then commanded him to disseminate the Christian religion, which command he also fulfilled.[20]

The testimony of this Tamil manuscript in the Mackenzie collection, being but a clumsy travesty of the *Acts of Thomas*, adds nothing to our knowledge. The author of the former work makes it perfectly clear that he knew Malabar and Maylapur, but the author of the *Acts* makes it evident that he did not know whether such a place as Maylapur existed or whether even there was a Peninsular India.

But, it may be asked, how do you account for the existence of the tradition in India itself? Here is a fact, it may be said, that a not inconsiderable section of the Indian people, on both sides of the continent, have for centuries cherished the belief that St. Thomas preached here, founded a church, and finally died a martyr's death. How do you account for this persistent belief?

It is impossible to say how old the tradition in its Indian form may be, and how far back we may yet be able to trace it. For myself I know no earlier mention of it than is to be found in the book of Marco Polo, who visited the Coromandel coast in the end of the thirteenth century. The testimony of this Italian traveller is most explicit, but of course the tradition must be much older than the date referred to, because the church of Maylapur was then in a state of dissolution and decay, and this tradition, like the church itself, was but a survival of better days. But Polo's work casts no light on its antiquity or its origin.

Other historians have developed the theory that the tradition in this country owes its existence not to St. Thomas the Apostle of our Lord, but to other notable men of the name of Thomas. It has been maintained that " the first historical notice we have of a Christian mission to India is that of

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[20] Translated by the late Rev. W. Taylor. See the *South India Christian Repository*, 1837, vol. I, pp. 263-6.

Persians, who were Manichæans."[21] It is hardly contended that Manes himself ever preached in India, but he wrote a *Greater Epistle to the Indians*, and, after his execution about 272 A.D., his numerous and influential followers were much persecuted in their native country, and it is not unreasonable, therefore, to suppose that many emigrated to India and Ceylon; especially, as Abu Zaid (916 A.D.) says: "There is a numerous colony of Jews in Sarandib, and people of other religions, especially Manichæans." But, supposing that there was an influential disciple of Manes, named Thomas, who preached successfully in India at the end of the third century, it is impossible to regard him as the founder of the historical church of this country—the church found by Cosmas in the first quarter of the sixth century. It is hardly reasonable to expect a Nestorian stream to flow from a Manichæan fountain, and the early heroes of Nestorianism would not be likely to favour commemoration of a Manichæan saint in their church. But apart from that, this theory, advocated by La Croze, Tillemont, and others, does not account for the far-reaching tradition which was afloat in other parts of Asia before Manes was born and extended to regions which Manichæism never penetrated. And the same remark applies also to the supposed original connection of the tradition with Thomas Cana, an Armenian (Aramæan ?) merchant, who came with a large and influential following to the coast of Malabar about the end of the eighth century. Whatever account we give of the origin of the tradition in this country must not leave entirely unexplained the far wider ecclesiastical tradition.

My own belief is that we have here an example of the migration of a tradition, that the existence of the tradition in India is as old as the foundation of the church of Malabar, and that its Persian founders brought the tradition with

[21] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 309.

them. Sir W. W. Hunter [22] has made the affirmation that "by the seventh century, the Persian church had adopted the name of Thomas Christians;" and, though the learned author does not favour us with a reference to his authorities, the statement itself is not surprising; for the Persian Church, previous to the foundation of the church of Malabar, was Nestorian, and one of its great schools of theology had its seat at Edessa until 489 A.D.; and the connection of the Thomas tradition with Edessa has already been discussed. It is evident, therefore, that the memory of Thomas must have been a very real thing to the 'Persic school' of Edessa. His very dust was to them the dearest of their possessions, and his story would doubtless be rehearsed and embellished, at least as often as the 21st of December came round. Alumni of the school of Edessa could hardly fail to be infected in those days with a certain degree of enthusiasm for the memory of St. Thomas, and would publish, in season and out of season, with undisguised pride, the fact of their having seen the very relics that (as they would imagine) had once formed part of his living frame. The tradition, presented with all the attractions wherewith enthusiasm could invest it, would take a deeper hold on the minds of members of the Persian church than even the articles of their creed, and we cannot wonder that, when successive colonies came and settled in Malabar, they should have brought this proud possession with them and should have cherished it through all the vicissitudes of their lot, with a tenacious affection, even down to the present day.

But the tradition might possibly have died a natural death, had special means not been used to keep it alive. In addition to the pleasing belief that one of the twelve apostles of our Lord set foot on the land where we dwell, there has been a decided stimulus in the ecclesiastical wish to give to

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[22] *The Indian Empire*, second edition, p. 237.

Christianity in India an orthodox instead of a heretical origin. This and the annual festivals which bring hundreds of visitors to the St. Thomas holy places in our neighbourhood are but specimens of the devices used to keep the tradition alive. The Irish Catholics of Madras are said, indeed, to be strong in disparagement of the special sanctity of the localities and of the whole story connecting St. Thomas with Maylapur; but some of their naughty critics, perhaps unkindly, add that they would sing a different tune to-morrow if the said holy places were suddenly transferred from Goanese hands to their own. Be this as it may, it seems to me that the origin of the tradition in India is due to the founders of the church of Malabar, and that it has been kept alive by the so-called Syrians themselves, by Catholics, and by Protestants on grounds that are not historical. For, in my opinion, there is not a shred of evidence to prove that the feet of St. Thomas ever trod the soil of Peninsular India; and such evidence of his destination as our available records supply points in another direction.

Etymology of some Mythological Names.

(BY M. SESHAGIRI SASTRI.)

THE subject of this paper is the Etymology of some Mythological Names. Before treating of this subject, I shall introduce some general prefatory remarks which I consider necessary for a clear understanding of it. Mythology is the sum total of the knowledge which every nation has of the cosmogony of the world in their low and primitive condition; and the absence of such a knowledge in a people is a clear indication of the absence of any nationality. For, according to Schelling, a nation becomes a nation through community of consciousness between the individuals, and this community has its foundation in a common view of the world, and this, again, in mythology. In conformity, therefore, to his theory there will be no nationality found in circles of men who have no mythology. We may, therefore, state that every nation has a mythology and that, at any rate, this is the case, as we all know, with the Aryans with whose mythology alone this paper is concerned. Mythology, like every other branch of human knowledge, may be studied scientifically as well as historically. Different nations have different mythologies, and these, notwithstanding their divergences and dissimilarities, agree in many points and turn out to be identical. The historical student of myths was content merely with studying and recording them as they were. But in course of time when the science of comparative philology was established, the study of mythology assumed a new aspect. The young science led to very important ethnological conclusions and established the alliance and consanguinity of nations separated by thousands

of miles as well as of their languages which looked very different from each other. Under the guidance of the theories established by that young science and with the aid of the principles of psychology, researches in the domain of myths produced the most useful results and brought into existence the science of mythology. The two sciences go hand in hand, the elder assisting the younger.

Like the science of language, the science of mythology has two aspects, one psychological and the other philological, and the investigator of myths must steer his course between these two poles.

Having these two guiding points in view, I have laid down a method of investigation which, I may say, is almost new and has enabled me to arrive at the most useful and scientifically most important conclusions.

I shall now describe what that method is. Every mythological word is a common name[1] indicating some thing in general, a quality, an action, or any other attribute, as I have already shown in my Notes on Aryan and Dravidian Philology, Vol. I. The word originally refers to one of such meanings, though this particular meaning is lost sight of in its application as a mythological name. All the mythical accounts which are given in connection with the name are the outgrowths of that nucleus. The whole superstructure is merely a psychological evolution of the simple element which we discover in the original signification of the name of the mythical personage. So long as we are ignorant of this element, we must be in the dark as to why the name is given to the being or person, and what is the source of the various functions and attributes which are ascribed to him. But the moment this meaning is ascertained with clearness and precision, a flood of new knowledge suddenly flashes on our understanding, and what was before in utter

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[1] *Vide* p. xxix, Introduction.

oblivion and darkness becomes as clear as if seen in broad day-light. This original meaning is discovered by collecting all the words which are similar in form to the word under discussion and convey meanings which may be easily connected with its meaning; and by comparing the word both in form and meaning with the words collected. The above grouping must be only provisional; for it is not a rule that every word that is similar in form and meaning to another word is allied to it. In our research we have recourse to the history of each word compared, and take what other philologists and lexicographers have said, and build up our theories partly on our own observations and partly on the historical evidence we receive. When this evidence is negative, we are obliged to rest satisfied with mere conjectures; thus, for instance, I have proposed an etymology for the Greek word *ἀσάμινθος* (a bathing tub), about the derivation of which the Greek lexicographers and philologists are uncertain, and I have connected the word with Sans. अश्मंत-aśmanta 'a hearth.' I shall here give some examples to illustrate the above method of investigation.

The name of the continent Europe is derived from Greek *Εὐρώπη* which in Grecian mythology is applied first to one of the Oceanides and occurs in Hesiod. In later works *Εὐρώπη* is described as the daughter of Agenor, king of Phœnicia and Telephassa. Jupiter loved her and assumed the form of a bull and appeared among the herds of Agenor. *Εὐρώπη*, who was gathering flowers in a meadow near the herds, was charmed with the beauty of the bull and approached the animal to caress it. In her fondness for it she ventured to sit on the animal and was carried away by it to Crete. Jupiter assumed his original form again and expressed to her his love, which was reciprocated by her. She gave birth to Minos I, who was adopted by Asterius, king of Crete, whom she subsequently married. Minos I is said to have been the propounder of certain laws to his subjects

in 1406 B.C., which remained in force till the time of Plato. His name and his laws remind us of the first law-giver of India and his code, the Mānavasaṁhitā. He married Itone and became the father of Lycastus, from whom was born Minos II. This king married Pasiphaē, who fell in love with a bull and gave birth to Minotauros.

In the Vedic and Puranic theogonies, we have similar personages, stories and names. In the Rig Veda and Brâhmanas, Indra is said to have fallen in love with मेना-Mēnā, the daughter of a king called वृषणश्व-Vṛṣaṇaśva, and, having assumed the form of मेना, lived with her under the care of her father, and in course of time married her. Among the names of Indra occur the words वृषन्-Vṛṣan, ऋभुक्षिन्-Ṛbhukṣin and ऋभुक्ष-Ṛbhukṣa, the latter two of which are mere metathetical modifications of Sans. ऋषभ-ṛṣabha which is also applied to Indra.

Himavān, the mountain Himalayas, married मेनका-Mēnakā, and became the father of the mountain मैनाक-Maināka, and पार्वती-Pārvatī, the wife of the god Siva. He was changed into a calf and was suckled at the udder of the goddess Earth, who assumed a bovine form. She is called पृथिवी-Pṛthivī, and पृथ्वी-Pṛthvī, and is considered as the daughter of पृथु-Pṛthu or पृथी-Pṛthī, who was the son of वेन-Vena, and is called वैन्य-Vainya. पृथु-Pṛthu is said to have been the first anointed sovereign of the earth and to have ruled both men and the lower animals and introduced the art of husbandry into the world. वेन-Vena was a descendant of मनु-Manu, the first law-giver of the Hindus. I shall quote here a passage from my Notes on Aryan and Dravidian Philology, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 193 and 194.

"Here I have to mention the word Ἀριάδνη which I have explained under the suf. δνος (page 131). It answers to Sans. अर्हतरी-arhatarī and means radically 'very fit.' I

have already referred to her parentage; and the names of her father and mother are allied to the Sans. वृष-vṛṣa meaning 'ox' and have been mentioned in the Vṛṣa group, her father's name, Minos, being allied to Sans. माहिष-mahiṣa (properly मेष-mēṣa and मिष-misa, h being a mere orthographical outgrowth), मैनाक-maināka and मेना-mēnā, and her mother's name, Pasiphaē, to वृषभ-vṛṣabha. Minos was the son of Zeus and Europa, and as the word Europa is connected with the Sans. वृषभ-vṛṣabha, उरभ्र-urabhra, and Gr. *ὀρεύς*, and radically means 'a cow,' the legend simply means that a bull was born to Zeus by Europa, and his son married Pasiphaē, a cow, in his turn, and this legendary interpretation is sufficiently borne out by the continuation of the myth, that, by the curse of *Οὐρανός* or *Ποσειδών* Pasiphaē fell in love with a bull and brought forth Minotauros who was partly of bovine and human forms. Minos I., the grandfather, was the wise legislator in every city of Greece and was made the supreme and absolute judge in the infernal regions. His equity and justice, the radical connection of his name with Sans. वृष-vṛṣa, and the fact of his being the king of Creta, the Grecian original forms of which are *Κρήτα* and *Κρήτη*, remind us of the Hindu Kṛta Yuga, the first of the four great periods of the world, in which Vṛṣa, the bull of virtue, stood with four legs and reigned supreme (*vide* the Vṛṣa Group). In *Κρήτη* I see a trace of *κριτίς*, 'choice,' or the act of chosing, that is, the human volition, or of Sans. कृत-kṛta or कृति-kṛti, 'action;' and the legendary government of *Κρήτη* by Minos and the standing of virtue of a bovine form on four legs must refer to the virtuous disposition of the people in a good age. The Greek *Κρήτα* in its secondary meaning refers to the locality of the virtuous action and the Sans. कृत-kṛta, to the age."

Comparing the above stories and proper names, we can see that we have a series of mythical personages with bovine

names, in whom there is a mixture of bovine, human, and divine attributes and functions. We have not been able to account for the peculiarities of the above myths; and their psychological aspects remain unintelligible to us. But let us apply to the science of comparative philology for aid. We find in the above stories the following proper names :— *Εὐρώπη*, *Πασιφάη*, *Μίνως*, *Μινώταυρος*, वृषन्-Vṛṣan, ऋभुक्षिन्-Ṛbhukṣin, ऋभुक्ष-Ṛbhukṣa, मेना-Mēnā, मेनका-Mēnakā मैनाक-Maināka, मनु-Manu, वेन-Vēna, and वैन्य-Vainya. In these the Sanskrit words are clear in their meanings. They mean radically either a great being, a man, or an ox. In support of this meaning, and in explanation of other meanings which are conveyed by them, compare the following words: पुरुष-puruṣa, पूरुष-pūruṣa, Lat. maritus, mas, Sans. मारिष-māriṣa, Lat. homo, Sans. पुमन्-puman, and पुंस्-puṁs, and विश्-viś, वृष-vṛṣa, वृषभ-vṛṣabha, and the Dravidian form of ऋषभ-ṛṣabha, basava, Gr. *βασιλεύς*, उक्ष-ukṣa, ऋक्ष-ṛkṣa, रासभ-rāsabha, उरभ्र-urabhra, Gr. *ὀρεύς*, *ἔλαφος*, and *ἔριφος*, Sans. मेष-mēṣa, Gr. *μῆκος*, *μῆλον*, Sans. मेंड-mēṇḍa, महिष-mahiṣa, Hind. बैल्-bail, Eng. bull and mule and Lat. mulus, Sans. पशु-paśu, and Lat. pecus and vacca, and Sans. बस्त-basta and बष्कयणी- baṣkayaṇī, Eng. ass A.S. assa, and Lat. asinus and asellus, Sans. वृक-vṛka, Lat. lupus, Gr. *λύκος*, and other allied words. By comparing them we find that *Εὐρώπη* and *Πασιφάη* are modifications of Sans. वृषभ-vṛṣabha and mean 'a cow;' that *Μίνως* and मेना-mēnā are allied and radically refer to a bull and a cow respectively; and that *Μινώταυρος* answers to Sans. वृषणश्व-Vṛṣaṇaśva with a slight difference in meaning; *Μινώταυρος* being separated into *Μίνως* and, *ταῦρος*, both words indicating a bull; and वृषणश्व-Vṛṣaṇaśva being separated into वृषन्-vṛṣan and अश्व aśva—वृषन्-vṛṣan signifying a bull and अश्व-aśva a horse. The meanings I have attached to the words *Εὐρώπη*,

Πασιφάη and *Μίνως* explain the most important features of the myths connected with those names.

I shall introduce now three equally important names of Aryan mythology, the etymologies of which have not yet been settled. These are Indra, Roma, and *Κένταυρος*. Indra has the following attributes and functions. He is the lord of the sky and the celestial world (दिवस्पति-Divaspati). As lord of the sky he is mounted on clouds (मेघवाहन-Mēghavāhana), and accompanied by storms (मरुत्वत्-Marutvat). He is the enemy of heat (पाकशासन-Pākaśāsana) and destroyer of mountains (गोत्रभिद्-Gōtrabhid). He holds an adamantine weapon called वज्र-Vajra and is the foe of नमुचि-Namuci, who is a personification of darkness.[2] All these and other attributes of Indra are unintelligible to us and may appear arbitrary, unless we understand the original meaning of the word Indra. According to the Rev. Sir George Cox, the word means "moisture." But this, though not very far from the right meaning which I am going to mention, does not afford a proper clue as to the above attributes and functions of Indra. Compare the following words:—

Sans. सलिल-salila, सरिर-sarira, 'water,' Gr. *ἁλς*, *θάλασσα* and *θάλαττα* 'sea,' Sans. सागर-sāgara, 'sea,' सरस्-saras, and सरसी-sarasī, 'lake,' सरस्वती-sarasvatī, originally the 'river goddess,' सरस्वत्-sarasvat, 'the ocean' (radically having water), तरङ्ग-taranga, 'a wave,' लहरी-laharī, 'a wave,' शिशिर-śiśira, 'cold,' Lat. sal 'salt,' Sans. जल-jala, 'water,' जड-jaḍa, 'cold,' Lat. gelu 'frost,' perhaps Gr. *παγετός* 'frost,' Sans. पृषत्-pṛṣat, Sans. शीकर-sīkara 'drop of water,' कासार-kāsāra, and तटाक-taṭāka, Lat. lacus, and Gr. *λάκκος* 'a tank or lake,' सिकता-sikatā, 'sands,' Gr. *λάταξ* 'drop of wine,' originally' any fluid, Lat. latex 'a liquid fluid;' Gr. *ὑγρος* 'moisture,'

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[2] *Vide* Notes on Aryan and Dravidian Philology, vol. I, p. 139.

Sans. तुषार-tuṣāra, 'dew,' and तुग्र-tugra, originally 'snow' and then personified as the Demon तुग्र-tugra, whom Indra defeated; Gr. δρόσος and Lat. ros 'dew,' ὠκεανός 'ocean,' Sans. उद्र-udra, and Gr. ὕδωρ, 'water,' Sans. समुद्र-samudra, सम्- sam, + उद्र-udra, 'with water,' Sans. उदन्-udan, उद-uda, उदक-udaka, and दग-daga, 'water,' सबर-sabara, a Vedic word meaning 'water,' लवण-lavaṇa, 'salt,' जंबाल-jaṁbāla, 'marsh,' Gr. λιμήν 'a harbour,' λίμνη, marshy lake, λίμναι 'a quarter of Athens near the Acropolis,' सिंधु-sindhu, 'ocean,' सैंधव - saindhava, 'watery,' from which I derive the Gr. λαῖτμα, the deep sea; and other words included in a group of words called Salila Group, which I have reserved for a future occasion. We can clearly see thus that the word Indra means water or rather rain, that is, water falling on earth from the clouds. This gives a clue to the greater part of the story of Indra. He is, also, to be worshipped for rain.

> राजा त्वर्थान् समाहृत्य कुर्यादिन्द्रमहोत्सवम् ।
> प्रीणितो मेघवाहस्तु महतीं वृष्टिमावहेत् ॥ Kâmantaka.
> Rajā tvarthān samāhṛtyakuryādindramahōtsavam ।
> Prīṇitō mēghavāhastu mahatīṁ vṛṣṭimāvahēt ॥

'The king should collect money and celebrate the great feast of Indra, and when he is propitiated, he will bring down much rain.' Indra is called पर्जन्य-Parjanya, a word applied to thunder clouds also. The name घनाघन-Ghanāghana, is applied to Indra as well as to raining clouds. He is, therefore, the god of rain, and as such is associated with clouds, thunder, lightning and other natural phenomena that are connected therewith. Now we have to solve a question which naturally arises concerning the conception of Indra. The question is this: How is it that Indra came into existence among the Hindu portion of the Aryans besides वरुण-Varuṇa, the god of water and ocean, while the Greeks and other Western Aryans were contented with their

'Οὐρανός (San. वरुण-Varuṇa) *Ποσειδῶν* (प्रचेतस्- Pracētas), Neptunus (Sans. नभस्वान्-Nabhasvān) and the like. The question may be solved thus. When the Aryans came to India, a country in which the climate was hotter than that of their original home, they began to appreciate the effects of rain and the rainy season; and Indra became more important than Dyauspitar, *Ζευςπατηρ* and Jupiter, whom he is said to have conquered and subjugated as in the passage इंद्रायद्यौरसुरो अनम्रत - Indrāyadyau rasurōanamrata. "The mighty Dyaus bowed to Indra."

I shall next speak of Roma. This was the Latin name of the capital of the ancient Roman empire, and the Grecian form of the word is *Ρώμη*. The goddess of the city of Rome was called Roma and was worshipped in a temple. The city of Rome was by some said to have been built by Romus, son of Æneas and Lavinia, but the foundation of it is generally attributed to Romulus, who was a son of Mars and Ilia, and grandson of Numitor, king of Alba. His twin brother was Remus. When Amulius, the brother of Numitor, usurped the throne, he caused the two children to be thrown into the Tiber; but they were preserved by the river, which stopped its course, and a she-wolf came and suckled them. In course of time they were discovered by Faustulus, one of the king's shepherds, who brought them up as his own children. When they grew old, they knew their parentage, and, after killing Amulius, restored their grandfather to the throne. Romulus afterwards built the city of Rome and made it the capital of his kingdom. Some suppose that the story of a she-wolf having been the nurse of the two children of Ilia arose from the fact that the wife of Faustulus, who brought them up in their infancy, was called Lupa, a word which is the feminine form of Lupus, 'a wolf.' I am, however, inclined to think that the original word Romus itself may have meant a wolf, and that Remus may be a corruption of Romus, and Romulus, a diminutive form;

so that we may infer from the forms of the words that Remus, originally Romus, must have been the name of the elder brother, and Romulus, that is, the little Romus, that of the younger brother. With reference to the meaning which I have attached to Romus, let us compare the following allied words: Sans. फेरु-phēru and फेरव-phērava, 'a jackal;' Lat. vulpes, 'a fox,' Sans. वृक-vṛka, Gr. λύκος, Lat. lupus 'a wolf,' and the corresponding A.S. wulf, Slav. vluka and Lith. vilkas; Gr. ἀλώπηξ, Eng. fox, A.S. fuchs, Sans. उलूपी-ulūpī, 'a water fox;' Sans. उरभ्र-urabhra 'a goat,' Gr. ἔλαφος, 'a deer,' and ἔριφος, 'kid;' Sans. इभ-ibha, Gr. ἐλεφάς (stem, ἐλεφαντ) and Lat. elephās and elephantus, and other words which I have mentioned in the Vṛsa group and to which I have already referred above. We can clearly see that the first letter व-v of वृष-vṛṣa is changed into a, e, i, o, and u, the second letter र-r, into l in some words, and the third letter ष-ṣ is represented by k, p, ph, and bh. By changing again the letter p, ph, or bh into m and retaining only the second consonant r, and eliding the first letter v, we can derive such a form as ráma or róma with one of the above meanings or some allied meaning. In Sanskrit there is already a word as राम-rāma, which is applied to a quadruped like a deer, and which, I am quite certain, is allied to the above words and traceable to the representative word वृष-vṛṣa. or वृक-vṛka Perhaps even the English word 'ram' and the A.S. ram and rom, Eng. lamb and the A.S. and Ice. lamb, Dan. lam, all traced to lamba, (the root of which is not settled according to Mr. Skeat), may be traced to the same source. As for Remus, the name of the brother of Romulus, it is believed by philologists to be a corruption of Romus, as I have already remarked. I should therefore think that the word Romus originally signified a wolf and was the name of the founder of the capital of the Roman empire; and as I have already observed with regard to Europa, it was the

original signification that furnished a part of the materials of the myth, and, in the story of Romulus and Remus, their nourishment by a she-wolf may be traced to the radical signification of the word Romus.

I now come to the word *Κένταυρος*. In Grecian mythology, the word *Κένταυρος* is applied to a savage race dwelling between Pelion and Ossa, who were defeated and destroyed by their neighbours, the Lapithae. According to Pindar and later writers they were monsters, possessed of a body partly human and partly equine, and are said to have been the sons of Ixion and Nephele; but according to others they were the sons of Centaurus, son of Apollo and Stilbia. The name *Κένταυρος* is usually derived from *κεντέω* and *ταῦρος*, meaning 'goading the bulls.' But it has been recently connected with Sans. गंधर्व-Gandharva. Professor Monier Williams too compares the above two words; and the Rev. Sir George Cox in his Introduction to Mythology makes the following remarks: "The name Kentaur certainly cannot be explained by referring it to any Greek word or to any word belonging to the western Aryan dialects. But in the Rig Veda we have a class of beings called Gandharvas, who are manifestly the bright sun-lit clouds, probably cumuli with their heads illuminated, while the other parts are in shade. M. Bréal, in his analysis of the myth of Œdipus, has no doubt that the two names Kentaur and Gandharva are identical."

The conjecture is no doubt a happy one. But, unless we know the radical meaning of गंधर्व-Gandharva which underlies the whole or part of the mythological story of the गंधर्व-Gandharva and *Κένταυρος*, we are in the dark as to the functions and attributes of those mythical personages. In Sanskrit the Gandharvas are celestial beings and are very fond of women. Sōma is the first owner of a girl, and then she comes under the possession of a Gandharva, from whom Agni, the god of fire, takes her and gives her to the person

who marries her, according to the following passage of the Yajurveda :—

सोम: प्रथमो विविदे गंधर्वो विविद उत्तर: ।
तृतीयो अग्निष्टेपति स्तुरीयस्ते मनुष्यजा: ॥
सोमोऽददद्गंधर्वाय गंधर्वोऽददग्नये ।
रयिंचपुत्रांश्चादा दग्निर्मह्यमथो इमाम् ॥

Sōmaḥ prathamō vividē gandharvō vivida uttaraḥ ।
Tṛtīyō agniṣṭēpati sturīyastē manuṣyajāḥ ॥
Sōmōdadadgandharvāya gandharvōdadadagnayē ।
Rayiṁcaputrāṁścādā dagnirmahyamathō imām ॥

"Soma married thee first and then Gandharva married; thy third husband is Agni, and the fourth is a person born of man. Soma gave thee to Gandharva, Gandharva to Agni, and Agni gave thee wealth and sons to me."

This relation of the Gandharvas to the fair sex is somewhat like that which the *Κένταυροι* bore to the same sex; for they are well known for their brutal sensualities, and are said to have offered violence to women on several occasions. There are many other points of similarity in the stories of the Gandharvas and Kentaurs, which I do not mention here, as we may be quite convinced of the alliance of their names and their stories from what has already been said regarding them. We have now to ascertain the original signification of the Sans. गंधर्व-Gandharva which may lead to a proper explanation of the functions and attributes of those beings. In Sanskrit the word गंधर्व-Gandharva is applied to a horse, a kind of quadruped like the deer, or a musk deer; गंधर्वी-Gandharvī, a feminine form of the word, to a daughter of Surabhi, mother of the race of horses, and the word कंठीरव-kanṭhīrva, a modification of the word, to a lion, and कंदर्प-kandarpa, another modification. to the god of love. I think, therefore, that the word गंधर्व-Gandharva is formed from a word गंधर-gandhara, which is allied to the following Aryan

words, meaning either head, hair, horn, helmet, look, crest or top: Gr. *κάρηνον, κάρα, κορυφή, κώδεια*; Sans. कोटि-kōti, चूडा-cūḍā, चूला-cūlā, meaning 'head or crown;' Sans. शिरस्-siras, शिर-śira, शीर्ष-śīrṣa and Vedic शीर्षन्-śīrṣan 'head,' the Gr. *κράς*, and *κρα* or *κρη*, as in the following compound words *κράσπεδον* (corresponding to Sans. शिरस्पदम्-siraspadam), 'edge,' or 'border,' *κράδεμνον*, the Doric form of the compound *κρήδεμνον*, corresponding to Sans. शिरोदामन्-śirōdāman, 'a head tie,' and meaning 'a head dress;' Gr. *κέρας, κεράτιον*; Lat. cornu, Sans. शृङ्ग-śriṅga 'a horn;' Gr. *κόρυς κόρυθος*, Lat. crista[3] and Sans. किरीट-kirīṭa, a crest or 'crown ornament,' Gr. *θρίξ*, Sans. चिकुर-cikura, कच-kaca, and केश-kēśa, Lat. crinis 'hair;' Sans. जटा-jatā and सटा-saṭā, 'matted hair;' Sans. कपाल-kapāla, Gr. *κεφαλή*, and Lat. 'caput head,' Sans. कबरी-kabarī and perhaps Gr. *κουρά* and Lat. cirrus 'a lock of hair;' Gr. *κίκιννος* and Lat. cincinnus 'a curled lock of hair;' Gr. *σίσυρνα* and *σισύρα*, 'a goat skin,' *τίτυρος*, 'a goat' *Σάτυρος*, a satyr; Sans. छगल-chagala, 'a sheep,' and सृगाल-sṛgāla, 'a jackal;' Sans. शिखर-śikhara, 'top,' शिखण्ड-śikhaṇḍa, 'a tuft of hair,' केसर-kēsara, 'mane,' and शेखर-śēkhara, 'head crown,' from the last two of which come the Gr. *καίσαρ* and Lat. Cæsar, and also the word Kaiser in Kaiser i Hind., the imperial title of our most exalted and gracious sovereign, a title which was proposed by Sir W. Muir for her; किसल-kisala, किसलय-kisalaya, कंदल-kandala, 'tender leaves of trees' किंजल्क-kinjalka, 'the stamina of flowers;' Sans. किन्नर-kinnara, a class of celestial beings who are like the Centaurs possessed of a double form, half human and half equine. They are the musicians of Kubera, the god of wealth, and from them the name is

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[3] *Vide* my Notes on Aryan and Dravidian Philology, Vol. I, p. xxii, Introduction.

transferred to a musical instrument which is called किन्नरी-kinnarī. The word has emigrated to Europe and assumed various forms as Gr. *κιθάρα,* Lat. cithara, cithern, cittern, guitar and A.S. cytere. If we compare these allied words and others given in a group of words called Śiras-group, in the Second Part of my Notes on Aryan and Dravidian Philology, Vol. I, which will be published hereafter, we may be quite convinced that the word Gandharva is allied to the words included in this group, and radically means, as already said, 'hairy,' and is applied to a horse, a kind of quadruped like a deer, a kind of celestial being, and, in a modified form, as कंठीरव, is used for a lion. In the Gr. *Κένταυρος* there is a mixture of the above ideas, a hairy animal and a celestial being, which are embodied in the conceptions of किन्नर-Kinnara 'hairy' and तुरंगवदन Turanga-vadana 'horse-faced.'

Ibn Batūtah in Southern India.

(By Mrs. L. FLETCHER.)

The French Asiatic Society published, in 1858, a very interesting translation of a fourteenth-century MS. in Arabic, left by Abū Abdullāh Muhammad, better known as Ibn Batūtah, which gives a detailed account of the journeys, by sea and land, of this great traveller, who, with an insatiable craving to see new places and people, disregarded hardships and dangers and journeyed over distances which appear almost marvellous when the difficulty of locomotion in those days is considered. The customary pilgrimage to Mecca, to perform which he left his home in Tangiers at the age of twenty-two, aroused Ibn Batūtah's love of travel, and from that time he continued to lead a wandering life for twenty-seven years.

He visited Arabia, Syria, Persia, Mesopotamia and Zanzibar, Asia Minor, Bokhara and Afghanistan, and, having entered the Punjab by the valley of the Indus, reached Delhi, where he was employed in the honourable capacity of kāzī by the emperor. Of his travels through Sindh a brief account has already been published by General Haigh, but it is with his experiences in Southern India this paper proposes to deal. Before, however, proceeding to epitomize from his narrative, it is necessary to say a few words about the chronicler himself, and how far his statements about men and things are to be relied upon. An Arab by birth and a devout Muhammadan—a Sunnī—he entertained a great respect for the mullahs and saints of his faith, and throughout the whole account of his travels wonderful tales and legends of miracles

are constantly found, either recounted to him upon unimpeachable authority, or as having come within his own immediate experience. He never lost an opportunity of attending prayers at a mosque, and at one time appears to have devoted the entire day to reciting the korân at the request of a very pious chief in whose territory he then found himself. In visiting towns and cities he never forgets to mention the mosques, gardens, and market places; but in some respects he is disappointing in his descriptions, as he omits to speak of many things that would have been of much interest to posterity,—gives scarcely any dates, while his geographical knowledge appears vague and unsatisfactory.

What lends particular value to the account he has left us of his travels however is the fact that high authorities agree in considering it very accurate and trustworthy on most points, giving a truthful picture of the countries and people he saw as they existed at an age, of which we have but scanty information. It is true that Ibn Batūtah does at times allow himself the hereditary right of travellers to give his narrative touches of artistic exaggeration, as when he solemnly asserts that cocks in China are of the size of ostriches; but these embellishments are merely occasional literary accidents and do not affect the general trustworthiness of his recorded impressions as he has handed them down to us. The events which subsequently led to his visiting Southern India were consequent on the desire of Sultān Muhammad Ibn Taghlak of Delhi to send an embassy to China, and his appointing Ibn Batūtah to accompany it as one of his chief emissaries. The Emperor of the Celestials had a short time before preferred a request to rebuild a place of pilgrimage, much frequented by Chinese devotees, situated at a spot called Samhal, and which had been destroyed by the Muhammadan army. Many handsome and valuable gifts were brought to the Sultan of Delhi by the mission, including slaves, fabrics, spears, quivers, and a profusion of rich embroideries.

The judicious and characteristic reply of Ibn Taghlak was worded somewhat as follows :—

"According to the Muhammadan religion it is not permitted us to grant such a request. It is only lawful to allow those who pay capitation tax to build temples on Muhammadan territory. If thou consentest to defray this charge, we authorize thee to construct the shrine. Hail to those who follow the right way."

The sultan forwarded with his reply a number of magnificent and princely gifts of far greater value than those he had received from China,—horses, slaves, tents, basins and candelabra of precious metals, countless embroideries, and jewelled arms and quivers.

A large retinue was appointed to accompany the mission, and a guard of a thousand cavalry was to escort them to the port of embarkation.

The Chinese ambassadors started on their return journey together with the sultan's messengers.

In those days no doubt vicissitudes on such an expedition were to be anticipated, and many were in fact encountered.

On one occasion the troops arrived in time to assist at an affray in which the true believers were being pressed by the idolaters and rendered valuable assistance; but Kāfūr (كافور), a eunuch in charge of the treasure, was killed, and the party halted until another agent was sent by the sultan to replace him. On another occasion Ibn Batūtah strayed from the escort and narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of the infidels, but he was finally rescued and then urged by his companions to return to Delhi, such a misfortune at the commencement of his mission being taken as a bad omen. A trifle of this sort, however, was not calculated to make him abandon such congenial employment as he was then engaged upon, and he insisted on resuming his journey. Meantime, news of his supposed loss had reached the

sultan, and at Kannūj a message was received from him nominating Wajīh Almulk (وجيه الملك), Kāzī of Daulatābād, to fill the place of Ibn Batūtah if he was not again heard of.

Very slowly the embassy wended its way to the coast, and many are the anecdotes and reminiscences of the journey recorded in Ibn Batūtah's manuscript. Malwa and Gwalior were visited, and Saugor, where Khutlū Khān (قطلو خان) exercised sovereign power.

At length Cambay was reached. It is spoken of as a very beautiful town, where wealthy foreign merchants vied with each other in building handsome mosques and residences, and of which *Makbil* Altilingī (مقبل التلنكى) was governor. The Gulf of Cambay is compared to a river with its high ebb and flow, leaving vessels, which at high tide were floating at anchor, stranded as the waves receded.

Of Goa next visited, and at that time part of the territory of Rajah Jálansí (جالنسى), very little mention is made: the shadow of its future greatness not having then fallen upon it.

The embassy took ship for Calicut at a port called *Kandahār* (قندهار). This may be a clerical error in the original MS., or the name of the town may have changed past recognition in succeeding times, for no such port is discoverable on modern maps.

The vessels appear to have been of large size and were three in number. One of them was fitted up by Sultan Jālansī for the retinue and horses of Zahīr-ad-dīn (ظهيرالدين) and Sunbul, two of the chief amīrs of the party.

The gifts intended for the emperor were shipped on one vessel, whilst Ibn Batūtah himself embarked on another in which accommodation was found for 70 horses, 50 archers, and 50 Abyssinian warriors. These latter he calls the rulers of those seas, adding that the presence of even one of them on board a vessel was sufficient to guarantee immunity from

attack by pirates or others. The ships were propelled by sixty oars, and the sultan's son set sail with the embassy as a mark of respect to the high authority they represented.

Nothing specially worthy of note occurred till the town of Hinūr (هنور) was reached. A supply of water was shipped at Bairam, a desert island, and at Kūkah (قوقة), Ibn Batūtah with some difficulty was carried ashore to perform his devotions in a mosque and have a glimpse of the town then under the governorship of Sultan Dankūl (دنكول), an idolater, who professed fealty to the Sultan of the Indies, but was at heart a rebel.

At Hinūr, where a halt was made, Ibn Batūtah found much to admire in the character of the Sultan Jamāl-ad-dīn Muhammad (جمال الدين), who gave up his entire day, from dawn to sunset, to reading the korān in mosques, and who moreover entertained him at a banquet, of which he has left a detailed account, interesting in so far as it shows how little changed are the manners and customs of oriental people through many generations.

A beautiful slave, robed in a silken garment, placed before the prince dishes containing various preparations of food, and taking a large brass ladle in her hand drew out on to a plate a quantity of rice, over which ghee was then poured, pepper corns and green ginger were added, and a preserve of lime and mangoes (evidently chutney), and the first course was then ready. The ladle full of rice was followed by a second, portions of cooked fowl (pillau) being served with it. This was followed by several varieties of dressed poultry. Next came fish (always accompanied by the inevitable rice) and vegetables cooked in milk or butter. To indicate the close of the banquet each guest was presented with a portion of sour milk. The beverage on this occasion was *hot water*, as when cold it was considered a somewhat unwholesome drink during the period of the rains. It is curious to find history repeating itself, and a similar drink being in our

days prescribed for dyspeptics, the advantages of which were appreciated in the fourteenth century.

The Malabar coast was reached after a three-days' sail. Ibn Batūtah speaks of it as celebrated for its pepper, large quantities of which were exported.

From Sindābūr to Kūlam (كولم), a two-months' march along the coast, a fine road extended, well shaded by trees and supplied with rest-houses at distances of half a mile apart. The land was under cultivation the whole of the way, laid out chiefly in fruit gardens, and the traffic was great. Travellers, merchants and others proceeded on their way on foot or in palankeens, their luggage and merchandise being carried on men's shoulders, the sultan alone having the privilege of using horses.

Though of such extent, the road was absolutely secure throughout, a theft being punishable by death. Ibn Batūtah quotes, as an instance of the extreme rigor of the law, the case of a man, a Hindu, who, for stealing a nut, was impaled and so left on the highway as a caution to evil-doers, whilst, as a wholesome reminder to the public generally, impaling posts were placed conveniently at intervals along the road. Muhammadans and Hindus kept entirely apart, holding no communication, and, not unnaturally perhaps, the former are represented as having occupied higher social distinction than the latter.

Malabar (منيبر) was governed by no less than twelve sultans, and, on the line of demarcation separating their respective territories, gates were erected. A culprit flying from one state to another to escape the consequences of a crime could not be captured once he had passed through one of these gates of refuge. This privilege was strictly respected and never infringed even by the strong against the weaker states.

Ibn Batūtah mentions, as a curious custom prevalent in Malabar, that the sultan was succeeded on the throne by the

son of his sister to the exclusion of his own children—a custom which, he adds, "I never saw practised save by the 'Massūfah' (مسوفة), wearers of the *lisām* (اللثام), or veil covering the lower part of the face."

The sultans of Malabar were enabled by a very simple expedient to bring trade to a standstill in their territories. A slave was commanded to suspend the leafy branch of a tree over the shops, and so long as the branch was left there neither buying nor selling was permitted to take place.

Of Abūsahūr (ابوسهور), the first town visited on the Malabar coast, only a passing mention is made; from thence two days' sail was Fākanūr (فاكنور), a larger settlement and ruled by Sultan Bāsadau (باسدو), who owned thirty war vessels commanded by a certain Lūla (لولا), who appears to have been little better than a pirate. As soon as the Emperor of Delhi's vessels anchored, the sultan sent his son on board and entertained the embassy with all due respect and consideration. It was one of the customs observed on that coast that all vessels nearing a port were obliged to anchor and send a gift to its ruler. Any failure in the observance of this rule sent the indignant inhabitants off in pursuit of the defaulting vessel, which was then compelled to return by force and was detained on their shores during their good pleasure.

Leaving Fākanūr, a three days' sail brought the mission to Mangalore, even then a large and flourishing town governed by Rāmadau. A kazi here visited the vessels and invited Ibn Batūtah and his companions to land, which, however, they declined to do (doubtless for very sufficient reasons) until such time as the sultan sent his son on board as hostage. Subsequently this request was acceded to, and during three days' sojourn all were treated with great hospitality.

Hīlī, the next port touched at, appears to have been a place of some consequence, affording good anchorage and

occasionally visited by Chinese vessels;[1] here also was a fine mosque—always an interesting feature to Ibn Batūtah—to which was attached a college, the students being paid salaries (scholarships ?) out of the revenues of the temple.

Jarfattan (جرفتن) obtains only a very casual notice; its ruler, a powerful prince, was also sovereign of Dahfattan and Bud Fattan, coast towns, about which there seems to have been nothing worth recording, except the existence of a miraculous tree at the former place that shed but one leaf a year, on which was found invariably inscribed the Muhammadan formula: "There is no God but God, and Muhammad was the messenger of God."

Fandaraīnā, another coast town, possessed no objects of interest excepting fine gardens and markets.

At Cālicūt (قالقوط), where the embassy was to tranship for China, the little fleet was received by the authorities with all possible pomp and circumstance and escorted to an anchorage to the sound of timbrels, trumpets, and clarions and with standards flying, all of which rejoicing was destined shortly to end in sorrow and disaster. Here the embassy waited three months for a favourable opportunity to start on the last portion of their journey.

The reasons for this long delay are not, however, mentioned, but their stay was made very agreeable, suitable accommodation was found for them in the town, and they were hospitably entertained by the sultan of the country.

In the port of Calicut were thirteen Chinese vessels. These were of three kinds—the large ships or junks, the medium-sized vessels called *zau*, and the small ones or *kakams*.

The junks carried as many as twelve sails, made of a species of matting, which were allowed to float loosely in

[1] According to Ibn Batūtah the Chinese merchants had three ports of call on the Malabar coast, viz., Hīlī, Calicut, and Kūlam.

the wind when the vessels were at anchor. Each junk was manœuvred by a thousand men (!!), six hundred sailors, and four hundred warriors, among whom were archers, cross-bow men, and naptha-throwers (?). The big ships had four decks, cabins, saloons, and holds for merchandise; the oars were worked by fifteen men to each oar, and when the vessel went to sea, it was accompanied by three of the smaller craft.

The stewards of the ships were very great personages and were always escorted ashore by a guard of archers and Abyssinians, proceeding on their way to the accompaniment of horns and timbrels. Some Chinese merchants acquired great riches by trading with their numerous vessels.

At length the time came for the members of the embassy to proceed on their way. Out of the thirteen junks one was fitted and armed by the sultan for their use, a cabin was allotted to Ibn Batūtah, and his entire suite embarked, as also did Sunbul and Zahīr-ad-dīn, taking on board with them the emperor's presents.

Being a Friday, Ibn Batūtah himself remained ashore in order to attend prayers at the mosque, intending to return to his retinue as soon as his devotions were concluded. Meantime one of his servants having represented to him that the accommodation reserved for him on board the junk was very insufficient, he decided to tranship all his slaves and property to the small kakam, where more space was available. In making his arrangements, however, Ibn Batūtah had forgotten to take into calculation the difficulty of embarking after 4 P.M., probably owing to the sea breeze freshening about that time; the result was that it became impossible to leave the shore. All the junks, with the exception of two, had left the port. One of these intended wintering at Fandarainā; the other contained the valuables and presents of the embassy. Friday night was spent ashore, it being impossible to reach the vessel, and those on board were unable to render any assistance. On Saturday

morning the first junk and the kakam were far from port; the former, however, struck and foundered on some rocks, part of the crew being lost, others escaping with their lives. As night advanced, the second junk was also shipwrecked on some reefs and all hands perished.

In the morning Ibn Batūtah proceeded to the spot where the dead bodies lay. Zahīr-ad-dīn's skull had been broken; Sunbul lay with his brain pierced by a large nail. Having said the prescribed prayers over their corpses, their companion had them interred. The sultan meantime stood on the beach with his attendants and prevented the populace from thieving property washed ashore by the waves. Calicut was the only town on the Malabar coast where such jetsam did not become the property of the State, and could be reclaimed by the rightful owners; consequently it was a port much favoured by traders.

When the kakam saw the misfortuue that had befallen the junk, it very ungenerously set sail, taking with it all Ibn Batūtah's slaves and property and leaving him with but a few pieces of gold, a small carpet, and a slave he had liberated and who immediately deserted him.

He does not however appear to have wasted time in vain regrets, but, with the philosophy of his race, resigned himself to the inevitable. He ascertained that the kakam would be compelled to put in at the port of Kūlam and resolved at once to push on thither in the hope of meeting it there. The distance was a ten-days' journey by either road or river; he chose the latter, halting each night at some village on the banks; he recounts how much he was exercised in spirit on the way by the Musalman servant he had engaged who turned out a drunkard and a cause of much trouble. In ten days Kūlam was reached in safety, a large and handsome town, much frequented by Chinese merchants, the port being most conveniently situated for them. Muhammadans were much respected. The Sultan

Altīravarī (التيروری) was himself an idolater, and moreover a rigid martinet, witness a story recounted by Ibn Batūtah. The sultan on one occasion, when riding out accompanied by his daughter's husband, observed the latter appropriate a mango that had fallen from an overhanging branch and lay on the ground. Upon this his wrath being kindled, he had both his son-in-law and the fruit he had taken cut in half and fixed on to a couple of posts by way of caution to passers-by, who no doubt became sufficiently circumspect in their conduct to avoid similar penalties.

At Kūlam, Ibn Batūtah came across the Chinese envoys who had travelled down from Delhi with the embassy. It appears that their ships also had been wrecked, but they obtained a supply of clothing from their fellow countrymen and returned to their own land where he subsequently met them.

Ibn Batūtah had some thought of returning to the Emperor of Delhi; but fearing that monarch's reproaches, relinquished the idea, more especially as he was strongly advised not on any account to go back thither by an agent of the emperor, whom he found on his return to Calicut employed in enlisting as many Arab recruits as he could find for the king's army. He accompanied this man by sea to Hinaur, where he became the guest of the sultan, and here it was his religious exercises assumed such formidable proportions. At that ruler's request he recited prayers in his company and spent the entire day in a mosque, sometimes reading the korān twice through between sunrise and sunset.

A proposed expedition to attack and capture the island of Sindābūr offered an agreeable escape from this somewhat monotonous existence, and it is not surprising to learn that Ibn Batūtah proposed to accompany the invading force; and after duly consulting the korān and obtaining a favourable reply, he not only went himself but persuaded the sultan to go also and to command the troops in person.

The island was attacked and conquered, but the sultan showed himself lenient towards the inhabitants who had resisted his invasion, sparing their lives and permitting them to reside in the suburbs of the chief town. Ibn Batūtah, to whom he presented a robe of honour on this occasion, remained some time longer with the sultan, but then obtained permission to leave, promising to return, and retraced his way to Cālicūt. At this port discouraging tidings awaited him. Two of his slaves who had been obliged to sail with the kakam contrived to return to India and informed him of the death of one of his female slaves and of the capture of the remainder by the king of Java. All his property, they added, had fallen into alien hands, and his comrades were dispersed over Java, China, and Bengal. On hearing this depressing report, Ibn Batūtah, faithful to his promise, returned to Sindābūr, but troubles and disturbances breaking out, he again left the sultan, and, reaching Cālicūt once more, resolved to visit the Maldive Islands, of which many enticing descriptions had been given him and where amid novel surroundings he no doubt hoped to forget past misfortunes.

He appears to have sojourned for some time in the Maldives and found them an attractive residence. Honours were conferred on him, and when finally he wished to return to India for various cogent reasons, he had some difficulty in obtaining permission to depart. Instead of returning at once to the west coast, Ibn Batūtah visited Ceylon and gives long and detailed accounts of the many wonders of the island, its fauna and flora, the great size of the gems found there, and the wealth of its sultan. He also gives a graphic description of his visit to Adam's Peak. At length he embarked to return to Malabar, but nearly lost his life on the journey by shipwreck. A gale arose. The vessel in which he sailed was almost swamped and narrowly escaped being dashed to pieces on the rocks; finally she stranded in shallow breakers, and Ibn Batūtah was able to send his

companions ashore on a raft, he himself remaining on board till two more rafts could be constructed by the sailors. However darkness overtook them before the task was complete and a very unpleasant night was spent on board the wreck.

In the morning some natives came off in a boat from the shore and rescued him from his perilous position. Ibn Batūtah thus found himself on the coast of Malabar and hastened to explain to the inhabitants that he was a friend of their sultan. On hearing this they wrote to apprize their ruler of what had occurred. Ibn Batūtah himself sent a letter at the same time describing his misfortunes. The sultan was engaged fighting certain infidels at two days' journey from the scene of the wreck, and three days after the message had been despatched to him an amīr arrived accompanied by a detachment of cavalry and infantry, a palankeen, and horses, to greet Ibn Batūtah and escort him to the camp. He at once set out on horseback accompanied by his few companions, halted for the night at the fort of Harkātū (هركاتو), and arrived at the sultan's camp on the second day.

Ghiyās-ad-dīn Addāmaghānī, Sultan of Malabar, had at one time served as a cavalry soldier under Malik Mujīr, one of Sultan[2] Muhammed's officers; finally he was invested with royalty. Previous to his accession he had been known as Sirāj-ad-dīn, but from the time of his elevation to the throne he assumed the name of Ghiyās-ad-dīn.

Formerly Malabar had acknowledged the authority of *Sultan Muhammad*, King of Delhi. Ibn Batūtah's father-in-law, Jelāl-ad-dīn Ahsan Shāh (جلالدين احسن شاه), having incited a successful rebellion, assumed the reins of government. He reigned for five years and was then assassinated by one of his amīrs Alā-ad-dīn âdaijī (علادين اديجى), who seized the throne and ruled in his stead one year. This sultan

[2] Muhammad Ibn Tughluk of Delhi.

made two expeditions against the infidels in which he was entirely successful, carrying off much spoil and killing the enemy in vast numbers. After his second victory, however, on the very day of his triumph, having removed his helmet from his head to quench his thirst, he was hit by an arrow shot by an unknown hand and died on the spot. His son-in-law, Kutb-ad-dīn, was elected to succeed him, but his conduct so irritated his subjects that he was put to death at the end of forty days. Sultan Ghiyās-ad-dīn was proclaimed king and married the daughter of Jelāl-ad-dīn, one of whose daughters Ibn Batūtah had married at Delhi.

On approaching the sultan's camp, a chamberlain was found awaiting the travellers to conduct them to his royal master, who received them kindly and presented Ibn Batūtah with food and presents.

In a subsequent interview he laid before the sultan a scheme he had entertained for the conquest (annexation ?) of the Maldive Islands with which the sovereign was much pleased. He wished the enterprise to be promptly undertaken and had certain vessels fitted out for the purpose. Robes of honour and gifts for the amīrs were set aside, especially for the sultāna, with whose sister he wished to form a matrimonial alliance, and Ibn Batūtah was authorized to draw up the marriage contract. An order was also delivered to freight three vessels with alms to be distributed to the poor of those islands, and Ibn Batūtah was told to depart and to return within five days. Admiral Khojah Sarlak insisted that it would be impossible to start for the Maldives before the expiration of three full months. The expedition had consequently to be postponed and Ibn Batūtah spent the following months in the sultan's camp.

The ground which the army had to traverse was dense, impenetrable jungle. As soon as the camp was struck, the sultan advanced at the head of his troops towards the

forest; every one, great and small, was provided with an axe to cut down obstacles, and the work of clearing a road continued from sunrise to sunset with a halt at midday for food and rest. All the idolaters caught in the woods were made prisoners, and, accompanied by their wives and children, made to carry pointed stakes on their shoulders to the camp. These camps were constructed as follows: In the centre was the sultan's quarters, surrounding which was a palisade furnished with four doorways and called a *katkar;* outside this enclosure was a second "katkar." An estrade was raised round the principal palisade, and here fires were kept burning and slaves and sentries were posted, each carrying a little bundle of twigs. As soon as an alarm of night attack was given, these torches were ignited, giving a bright light, by the help of which the cavalry were enabled to make a sortie and repulse the enemy.

As soon as morning came, the Hindu prisoners, who had been taken the previous day, were divided into four batches and each led up to one of the four entrances of the "katkar." Here the posts they had carried were made secure in the ground and the unfortunates impaled thereon. Their wives and children had their throats cut and were left fastened to the posts.

The camp was then struck and the troops busied themselves in clearing the jungle as before.

Ibn Batūtah stigmatises this barbarous cruelty as shameful conduct on the sultan's part and adds: "It was for this that God hastened the death of Ghiyās-ad-dīn." He also gives an account of some executions of which he was an eye-witness, which it is best to transcribe in his own words:

"One day," he writes, "the kāzī was on the right hand of this prince and I found myself on his left; as he took his repast with us, I saw that an idolater had been brought in, together with his wife and his son aged seven years. The sultan made a sign with his hand to the executioners to decapi-

tate the man, then he said to them (in Persian) '*va-zan-ī-ū-va-pusar-ī-ū*,' which signifies in Arabic 'also his son and his wife.' The sentence was carried out and I averted my gaze from the spectacle. When I arose, I saw their heads lying on the ground.

"I was on another occasion in the presence of the sultan, Ghiyās-ad-dīn, before whom a Hindu had been brought. He pronounced some words, I did not understand, and immediately several of his satellites drew their daggers. I arose hurriedly, and he asked me, 'where goest thou?' I replied, 'I go to perform the afternoon prayer.' He understood the motive of my conduct, smiled, and ordered the hands and feet of the idolater to be cut off. On my return I found the unfortunate bathed in his own blood."

There appears to have been a ceaseless petty warfare carried on between the different rulers of the western coast. Ibn Batūtah specially mentions one great victory gained by Ghiyās-ad-dīn over a powerful Hindu prince, Balāl Diū (بلال ديو), one of his neighbours. This prince, it appears, aimed at the conquest of the Coromandel Coast and could put 100,000 armed men in the field, not reckoning some 20,000 Muhammadans, some of whom were escaped slaves and the rest adventurers and desperate characters. The Muhammadan army on the other hand consisted only of 6,000 men, half of whom were excellent troops and the remainder worthless. The conflict began near the town of Kabbān (كبان), and the Hindus routed their enemies, who retreated to Mutrah (مترة), their capital.[3] Balāl Diū encamped close to Kabbān, which is one of the chief strongholds possessed by the Muhammadans, and there besieged them for six months, at the end of which time the garrison found they had only sufficient provisions left for another fortnight. The Hindu prince then proposed a surrender. He desired the town to be abandoned and the besieged to retire under a safe conduct. They replied they could

[3] Described by Ibn Batūtah as the capital of the country (Madura ?).

not accede to such conditions without the sanction of their sultan. A truce was granted of fourteen days and a letter despatched to Ghiyās-ad-dīn, explaining to what extremities the garrison was reduced. This letter the sultan read to the people on the following Friday. The faithful on hearing it wept, exclaiming that they were ready to surrender their lives to God; for if the idolater took Kabbān, he would next advance to besiege them and death by the sword was preferable to such a fate. They, therefore, vowed to give their lives in the good cause and marched to meet the enemy with bare heads and their turbans laid round their horses' necks, signifying that they courted death. The troops were disposed to the best advantage under skilled commanders, the sultan riding in the centre, and towards the hour of the siesta the advance was made on the Hindu camp. They found their enemies quite unprepared; believing themselves attacked by robbers, they rushed out in disorder to fight. Thereupon, Ghiyās-ad-dīn advanced with reinforcements and the Hindus were totally dispersed and put to flight. Their old sovereign, although eighty years of age, endeavoured to mount a horse and escape, when the sultan's nephew, Nāsir-ad-dīn (ناصرالدين), who succeeded him, attacked and would have killed the old man, not recognising him, had not one of his slaves said: "It is the king," whereupon he was made prisoner and treated with apparent consideration, whilst under promise of eventual release, all his riches were extorted from him. He was then murdered and his skin stuffed with straw and hung from the wall of Mutrah where Ibn Batūtah says he saw it suspended. He records this great victory of his co-religionists over overwhelming numbers of idolaters with pardonable pride and complacency.

Eventually he found his way to Fattan (فتن), where shortly afterwards Ghiyās-ad-dīn arrived stricken by an illness that subsequently caused his death. He was met by Ibn Batūtah, who offered him a present, the value of which the

sultan wished to return to him; this he declined to accept, adding naïvely that he afterwards much regretted having done so, as the sultan died shortly after, and thus he obtained no sort of return. Ghiyās-ad-dīn remained about a fortnight at Fattan, expressing a wish that preparations for the expedition to the Maldives should be pushed forward. He then proceeded to Mutrah, which Jelāl-ad-dīn had formerly made his capital and much embellished. He was shortly after followed by Ibn Batūtah and found a terrible infectious malady raging that killed its victims in three or four days from the time they were first attacked by it. So that, he writes, all around him he saw only the dead and dying. When Ghiyās-ad-dīn entered Mutrah he found his mother, wife, and son had been seized by the illness. At the end of three days he moved out of the town to the river bank and encamped there, tents being also pitched close at hand for Ibn Batūtah. On that same day the sultan's only son died, his mother on the following Thursday, and within a week of her burial Ghiyās-ad-dīn himself was dead.

Fearing a tumult, Ibn Batūtah hurriedly re-entered the town. Nāsir-ad-dīn, who had been sent for to the camp, tried to persuade him to return thither in his company. This he refused to do, greatly to the mortification of that prince.

Nāsir-ad-dīn had at one time been a domestic servant at Delhi before his uncle obtained the crown. When Ghiyās-ad-dīn became king, his nephew fled to him disguised as a fakīr and was destined to succeed him on the throne. He received the oaths of loyalty of the nobles, poets recited his praises and obtained magnificent presents, which were lavished with a princely hand to all retainers according to their rank, Ibn Batūtah receiving 300 gold pieces [4] and a robe of honour. For forty days the funeral obsequies of Ghiyās-ad-dīn were

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[4] Unfortunately no gold coin of either Ghiyās Addīn or his nephew have yet been found.

celebrated with great pomp, and largesses were freely distributed among the poor.

One of Nāsir-ad-dīn's first acts was to kill the son of his paternal aunt, who was the husband of Ghiyās-ad-dīn's daughter. He himself then married this princess. He also condemned to death a few other political offenders. The ships that had been fitted out for an expedition to the Maldives were to be made over at once to Ibn Batūtah, but he was seized by the malignant fever of the country and believed himself to be dying; however, he recovered, and ascribes his restoration to health to the remedy he used, which was a decoction of tamarinds. In three days he had shaken off the fever, but having taken an aversion to Mutrah, he asked and obtained permission from the sultan to return to Fattan. A restless desire for travel seems to have then seized him, and after a second short visit to the Maldives, he set sail for Bengal, thence to Java and Sumatra, and so at length to China, meeting with many vicissitudes both by sea and land, but ever ready to receive the gifts of fate, good or bad, as they chanced to come, with imperturbable serenity.

NOTE.[5]

Coins of most of the rulers mentioned by Ibn Batūtah occur, those of Āhsan Shah and 'Alā-ad-dīn Adūji being fairly common still in Madura and Malabar, while others, notably the billon issues of Ghiyās-ad-dīn Aldāmghāni (of which only two specimens have yet been found), of Nāsir-ad-dīn, his son-in-law, and the copper ones of Kutb-ad-dīn, are very rare. Issues of Muhammad bin Taghlak, struck prior to the revolt of Āhsan Shah, are still frequently found, and differ somewhat from those figured by Thomas or recorded in the Catalogue of the British Museum. Āhsan Shah, on

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[5] I am indebted to Mr. L. White King, B.C.S., and Captain R. H. C. Tufnell, M.S.C., for this *preliminary* note on the Coins of the Muhammadan Viceroys in Southern India.

raising the standard of revolt against his suzerain in Delhi, struck coins both in silver and copper. The latter of these are fairly common and are shown as fig. 1 in the accompanying plate. On the obverse they bear the name of the ruler احسن شاه السلطان, and on the reverse السلطان الا عظم. No date occurs on any copper issues yet found, but on the only two silver pieces known, the date 738 and 740 appear in conjunction with his full name جلالدين احسن شاه. On his death he was succeeded by one of his emirs, whom Ibn Batūtah wrongly calls 'Alā-ad-dīn adaijī, his real name evidently being Ādūjī, a copper coin of his, figured as No. 3, bearing this name most distinctly: obverse ادوجی شاه السلطان, reverse علاالدنيا والدين. Of his successor Kutb-ad-dīn as yet only two coins have been found, owing doubtless to the fact that his reign extended only to forty days. This is figured as No. 4 and is most important as supplying a date: obverse قطب‌الدنيا والدين, reverse فيروز شاه ٧٤٦ (Firūz Shah, 746). On his murder by his subjects, Ghyās-ad-dīn, surnamed first Sirāj-ad-dīn (a name which however occurs on none of his coins), and subsequently, according to Ibn Batūtah, Aldāmghāni (الدا مغانى) succeeded, and his coins in copper (No. 5) occur: obverse غياث‌الدنيا والدين, reverse السلطان‌الاعظم. A billon coin of this ruler is also known, and is figured as No. 6, but here again we have further proof of Ibn Batūtah's careless orthography. In the centre of the obverse the name plainly reads محمد دامغان شاه (Muhammad *Dāmghān* Shah) and on the reverse السلطان الاعظم غياث‌الدنيا والدين. Had we no further evidence we might, I think, fairly attribute this coin to the so-called Aldāmghāni. Further proof, however, is at hand in a billon issue No. 7. In the centre of the obverse of this we find the name ناظرالدنيا والدين (Nāsir-ad-dīn) and on the reverse محمد دامغان شاه السلطان (Muhammad Dāmghān Shah, the Sultān) and from Ibn Batūtah we know that Nāsir-ad-dīn was his successor's name. Unfortunately the margin is, in both these coins, too much cut off to be legible,

but on the top of the reverse of the last coin appears what looks like (ب)ن عادل (Ibn 'Ādil). This may of course merely mean 'the son of the just Sultān Muhammad Dāmghān Shah'; but it may also, it appears to me, read 'the son of Muhammad Dāmghān Shah (who was) the son of Adil (Shah).' A somewhat far-fetched argument on which to base the existence of a new king, if not indeed unwarrantable, were it not for the fact that about this time a king of the name of 'Ādil Shah (عادل شاه) did without doubt reign in these parts, and his coins are found in conjunction with those of Āhsan and Ādūji. Three of his coins are figured as Nos. 8, 9, 10, all of which bear his name and titles plainly enough. Unfortunately on the accession of Nāsir-ad-dīn, Ibn Batūtah left the southern provinces and with him all historical assistance deserts the numismatist. If, however, my theory regarding 'Ādil Shah be accepted, we have thus far fixed the following list:—

Āhsan Shah, A.H. 738 (?)[6]
|
(Rebels)
Ala-ad-dīn Adujī, A.H. 745.
Kutb-ad-dīn Firuz, A.H. 746 (son-in-law).

'Ādil Shah, A.H. ?
|
Ghiyās-ad-dīn Dāmghān, + Daughter.
A.H. 746
|
Daughter + Nāsir-ad-dīn.

Ibn Batūtah's unfortunate departure towards other countries just at this time it must be confessed leaves the numismatist rather in the lurch. We have nothing in history to help us. Our guide so far, warned doubtless by Nasir-ad-dīn's method of treating his predecessor's relations and friends, has deserted us, and there remain but two or three small copper coins to lend us their assistance. Two of these, however, are of primary importance, the one bearing the name

[6] Thomas (Chronicles of the Pathan Kings, p. 253) places the date of Āhsan Shah's rebellion in 742 A.H., but the date on his coin proves beyond doubt that it occurred at least four years earlier than that.

of Muhammad Mustafa, and the other that of Mubārak Shah. As good luck will have it, each of these two coins, which I figure as Nos. 11 and 13, respectively, bears a date, while the latter helps us in fixing the names of the king's relations. The former bears on the obverse محمد مصطفى and on the reverse الناد مصطفى (?) (765) ; another otherwise identical coin bearing date 764, while another with the same name but with a date, the last numeral of which is unfortunately gone, has on the reverse an inscription which I read tentatively بن السلطان كريده (son of the Sultan Kerīdah ?). Next in order on this side we find a coin No. 12 with on the obverse the name مصطفى (Mustafa) again, but here preceded by the word خادم (slave, Ar.) instead of محمد (Muhammad) and bearing the date 769 distinctly, but whether this is the name of a new king, or merely one of those titles they were wont to rejoice in, it is of course impossible to say. Whichever it may be, he certainly was the son of the same father as Muhammad Mustafa, the reverse of his coins proving this, and I certainly think it more probable that he was brother of, than identical with, Muhammad.

Turning now to No. 13, the other coin to which I alluded above, we find on one specimen the date 763, and on all what looks like quite a little genealogy of kings. Unfortunately most of the coins available are much worn, but tentatively they appear to me to read as follows: obverse مبارکشاه بن شاه جهان شاه (Mubārak Shah, the son of Shah Jehān (?) Shah) and reverse بن فخر شاه بن كريده (the son of Fakhr Shah, the son of Kerīdah). I am as doubtful, however, about the reading of the last name in these as in the last, and in not one of a dozen specimens I have is the name clear. Certain however it is that it is identical in both. Hence[7] then, following up the successors of Nāsir-ad-dīn, we have, if these readings are correct, the following :—

[7] Since this was written I have sent electrotypes of these coins to Mr. C. J. Rodgers, of Amritzar, and he agrees with the readings here given.

Kerīdah

Fakhr-ad-dīn	Muhammad Mustafa, A.H. 764-5.	Khâdam Mustafa, A.H. 769.
Shah Jehān (?) Shah		
Mubārak Shah, A.H. 763.		

Between the accession of Ghiyās-ad-dīn Dāmghān in 746 and this issue of Mubārak in 763, we have therefore a gap of some seventeen years with, however, four kings to fill it up. Of these, no coins have yet been found of Kerīdah or of Shah Jehan(?) Shah. Those of Nasir-ad-dīn I have already alluded to and one of Fakhr-ad-dīn's I figure as No. 14: obverse فخرالدنيا والدين, reverse السلطان اعظم.

One other coin, evidently of the same series, perhaps deserves brief notice. I allude to that of Sikandar Shah (No. 15). This bears on one side سکندر شاه السلطان (the Sultan Sikandar Shah) and on the other علاالدنيا والدين ('Ālā-ad-din), but whether he was one of those who helped to fill up the interval between Nasir-ad-dīn and Kerīdah (?) if there were any intermediate kings or was subsequent to Khādum Mustafa, it is at present impossible to say.

That there is in the above a great deal that is hypothetical must, I fear, be allowed; but at the same time it must be remembered that we are here dealing with a line of kings, of whom history, but for the casual remarks of a casual traveller, is silent, and that these small copper pieces are pages of an unwritten story, the very names on which have never been recorded as far as we know elsewhere. As time goes on doubtless more will be unearthed and more information thus gained about them, and it is chiefly with a view to calling attention to their historical importance and in the hope that coin-collectors will not pass them by unheeded that this note appears.

Pāṇḍavūla Meṭta.

(By the Rev. J. R. HUTCHINSON.)

"What we most want is to have an intelligent and accurate account of the various objects of antiquarian interest scattered over our territory. Their name is Legion, but many of them still keep the secret of their history." *Sir M. E. Grant Duff in his Review Minute.*

That noble range of forest-clad and picturesque hills, which, beginning at Battili on the extreme north-western corner of the Parla Kimedy zemindari, separates for some forty miles the districts of Vizagapatam and Ganjam, reaches an abrupt termination at a point twenty miles north of Chicacole. From this point on to the sea at Calingapatam, however, the rugged backbone of the ridge shows itself at frequent intervals in the *Sailāda*, *Singapūram*, and *Sālihandam* hills, and in scattered tumuli of black or grey granitic rocks. These are most numerous at a point some twelve miles north of Chicacole, where they are composed of schistose gneiss disposed for the most part in horizontal laminæ. Many of the more regular of these hills have, in the course of ages, been denuded of their surface rock. The action of sun and rain, expansion and contraction, causes the surface rock to separate from that beneath in huge layers, often many yards in length and breadth. These have been broken up and removed by generation after generation of Hindus for the construction of temples, images, village *pials*, &c., and, in more recent times, by D.P.W. employés for the construction of various public works. Frequently, the same agency which separated these rocky layers from their ancient bed has broken them up, in the direction of natural transverse flaws, into huge oblong masses, to which, in some places, the

natives apply the term *manchālū* or "beds." The continued separation and removal of these slabs leaves the surface of the rocky hill comparatively flat and often smooth as a floor. On one hill, called the *Dhānya-rāśi* or "paddy-heap," because of a circular mound of earth upon its summit, the surface thus formed comprises an area of fully a quarter of an acre.

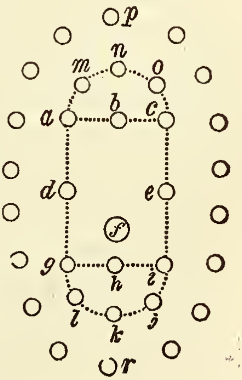
The name which stands at the head of this article is borne by one of the most unprepossessing of these hills. It is also called *Pancha-Pāṇḍavula-niveśasthāna* or the "Habitat of the Five Pandavas"—a name which explains the legend connected with the spot more fully and intelligently than any of the best informed natives in that vicinity. Viewed from its base, the hill which is probably thirty feet higher than the surrounding plain, presents absolutely no features of interest; but on mounting it, the unassuming rock is at once transformed into a monument of the skill and patience of a people who have left no other record of their existence. The first object that attracts the visitor's attention is a cromlech of gigantic proportions on the western slope of the hill. This cromlech is formed of a single slab of native rock, raised bodily from its bed to a height of about four feet. This slab, which lies east and west, is 11 yards in length and 5½ yards in breadth in its widest part. It has unfortunately been broken in two at a distance of about four yards from its western extremity. The thickness of the fractured part is about two feet. A piece of considerable size has been broken off the south-eastern corner at, apparently, a more recent date than that of the construction of the cromlech itself. The whole slopes slightly towards the west parallel with the slope of that part of the hill upon which it stands. Viewed from its eastern or higher end, the slab in its general outlines bears a striking resemblance to the form of a fish. There is however, no evidence whatever that any attempt has at any time been made to change the natural form of the slab, and I am inclined to think that its curious resem-

blance to the device of the Pandyan kings is purely accidental. It is possible, however, that the slab may have been selected originally because of its shape. The upright supports of the horizontal slab are uncut oblong stones, selected from among the numerous smaller slabs which cover the hill-side. To the south is an entrance, over which, along the upper edge of the horizontal slab, a channel of some depth has been cut in the stone for the purpose of carrying off the water that would otherwise drip down into the doorway. Along the higher side of the floor of the cromlech, within the line of upright slabs, are similar channels. There is no soil in the immediate vicinity of the cromlech, and it has evidently never been covered with earth. The entire structure is, however, encircled by a row of holes cut into the surface rock of the hill at distances of a yard or two from one another. These holes are circular, and, with the exception of the water-channels already described, are the only rock-cuttings about the cromlech. I am of opinion that this cromlech was constructed for and used as a human dwelling. The channel above the doorway to carry off the roof water, that along the higher side of the floor to keep the cromlech dry within, and the surrounding row of holes or sockets for pillars upon which thatch or other covering could be laid to protect the inmates from the fierce storms that sweep this valley in the months of April and May, seem to indicate indubitably the purpose and use of the structure.

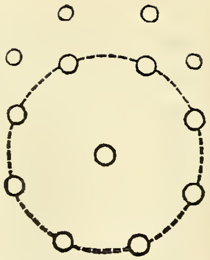
On four other hills in the vicinity are similar cromlechs of smaller size, with similar rock-cuttings, and evidently constructed for a like purpose. In one instance, on the high hill near *Sailāda*, where three huge rocks have fallen upon one another in such a manner as to form a triangular central cavity with three side-outlets and an opening above, a flat slab has been placed upon the latter to shut out the rain, while around the whole runs a circle of holes in the rocky

surface of the hill for the erection of the usual *panchapāḷi.* Here and there on the *Pāṇḍavūla Metta* and several other of the hills in the vicinity, stone slabs of smaller size have been tilted up at an angle of 30° or 40° upon the sloping hill-side and held in position by upright stones placed under their outer edge—intended evidently as a protection from rain and sun. These constructions are numerous in the vicinity of the larger cromlech.

The whole level surface of the *Pāṇḍavūla Metta* is covered with circular holes cut into the solid rock to a depth of ten inches or less. These holes are of three sizes, the largest being about 12, the second 8, and the third and smallest 6 inches in diameter. Many of them are fine specimens of workmanship, being cut out with remarkable regularity and precision ; but the most curious features of these cuttings are their arrangement in every case in either oblong, circular, or elliptical figures, and the fact that these face either east or south. In the margin is given a diagram of an oblong arrangement of these holes. The length from *a* to *g* is 13 feet 2 inches. The length from *b* to *h* and from *c* to *i* is exactly the same. The width from *a* to *c*, *d* to *e*, and *g* to *i* is 10 feet 4 inches. In front (east) is a semi-circular row of holes, *m*, *n*, *o*, of which the central hole *n* is situated at a distance of 4 feet 7 inches from *b*. At the back (west) is a similar row of holes, giving the same distance from *k* to *h*. These holes are all of one diameter (about 8 inches). Around all again is shown another row of holes, elliptical in outline, of the third or smaller size. Within and near the western end is a larger hole, 12 inches in diameter. The holes *p*, *n*, *b*, *f*, *h*, *k*, and *r* are all exactly in line, and this line runs east and west.

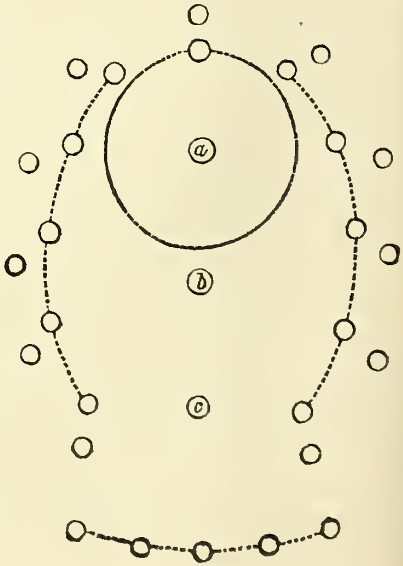


In other places the holes are arranged in circles as below, with one hole of the largest size in the centre, a circle of holes of the second size about this, a semi-circular row of holes of the same size in front (east or south), and around all again an outer row of smaller ones (not shown in the diagram).



The elliptical arrangements of holes are most common and elaborate. They are, moreover, on a much more extensive scale than either the oblongs or circles. The largest measures 16½ yards in length and 13 yards in breadth. Down the middle line (north and south) runs a straight row of five 12-inch holes; around this stretches the inner ellipse of 8-inch holes, while outside of all extends a third row of the smaller holes. In front, facing south, runs the usual semi-circular line.

Although the largest, the above is by no means the most elaborate of the ellipses. Some 50 yards to the north of the *Pāṇḍavūla Metta* is a smaller hill, upon the surface of which is an ellipse of curious conformation. On its major axis, running east and west, are three holes *a*, *b*, and *c*, of the largest size. About the hole *a*, as a centre, the rock has been cut down in circular form as indicated by the dotted line as though by the revolution of a stone slab



or grinder about *a*. The ellipse, instead of being composed of a single row of holes as in other instances, is composed of a double line of holes bored apparently on radii drawn from *a*. These double holes are of the second size. In front (east) is a semi-circular row of holes of the same size, and about the whole is another row of the smallest holes. The slope of the rock is from south-west to north-east; and to carry off the water, channels have been cut into the surface on the more elevated side, several inches in depth and width.

At the eastern extremity of the hill is a cave of triangular outline, approached by a low entrance from the north. This cave is formed by the overlapping of strata and the partial closing in of the cavity thus formed by the superposition of a huge mass of rock. The cavity is about 15 feet long and 10 broad, terminating in a curious little grotto at the western end. Owing to the manner in which the rocks forming it are thrown together, the cave is more or less open overhead throughout its whole length. At sunset the rays of ruddy light stream in through the western extremity of this cleft and illumine the grotto in a singularly pleasing manner. The cave has obviously been used as a human habitation. Without, along the shelving edge of the rock, which terminates in one irregular overhead opening, channels of considerable depth have been cut in the stone in such a manner as to collect all water flowing down the face of the rock and to convey it into other and larger channels below. The floor of the cave slopes from west to east; and bordering the western or higher side, under the overhanging ledge of rock, is cut a double channel running from the extreme inner end of the cave out to the entrance. The upper of these channels is the larger, the second and lower one being apparently intended for the overflow from the first. At the western end of the cave, and especially in the grotto, the natural slope of the floor has been altered by cutting

away the rock at the higher side to a depth of some six or eight inches. The cutting has been done very smoothly and accurately. At the extreme upper end of the cave is a stone *pial* some six inches higher than the rock-hewn floor below. When first the writer visited the cave, its whole floor was covered to the depth of fully a foot with stones and *kankar* washed in by the rains. A section of this was excavated and removed. In the lower part of the cave nothing was found but this alluvial deposit; but, as the upper end was approached, this *debris* gradually gave way to an under layer of fine black soil directly overlying the rocky floor, comparatively free from stones and evidently of much greater age than the upper deposit. Nothing was found in this stratum, however, save a few fragments of burnt pottery and some traces of fire; but underneath it, lying upon the stone floor close up to the edge of the *pial*, there was found a bit of much corroded iron of tapering form, some four inches in length and as thick as one's little finger. Nothing else of interest was found in the cave. The extreme lower portion of it was not, however, excavated, and it seems probable that further search would yield some information as to who and what manner of men the inhabitants of the cave were. The natives have no name for the cave, and there seems to be no legend connected with it other than that which applies to the whole hill.

As the cave has undoubtedly been the abode of human beings, so the rock-cuttings mark the site of ancient dwellings. The accurate measurements, palatial dimensions, and elaborate arrangement of such remains as still exist (and they must exist for all time) show that these were no ordinary abodes. No trace of hewn stone is found in the vicinity of these hills. Had such stones ever existed, had carefully-wrought, or even rudely-shaped, stone pillars once occupied these numerous sockets, had noble porticos graced the entrance to nobler halls, surely some fragment would

have remained to tell of departed grandeur; but the closest examination of both hills and surrounding country fails to reveal even so much as a single stone corresponding to the circular cuttings in the rocks. Much has been cut *into*, but little *out of*, them. Of what, then, were the supporting pillars of the buildings, which once crowned these hills, constructed? Evidently of *wood*, which in the course of years would be entirely removed either by succeeding generations of human beings or by the natural process of decay. In the cocoanut and palmyra palm ready-made pillars were found, which, fitted to the rock-cut sockets, supported a roof of thatch or other material. In the centre, to support this roof, one or more larger pillars were raised. Before the entrance, to render the buildings more palatial, a semi-circular portico was erected. Around the whole, to ward off sun and rain and to afford additional space and strength, a *panchāpāḷ* was constructed. The difficulty presented during the rains by the in-flowing water was easily obviated by the construction of a low dyke of clay around that part of the building which faced up the gentle slope, while to prevent this water standing in pools in the numerous depressions of the rocky surface, channels were hewn of sufficient depth to admit of its ready egress.

The native legends as to the origin and use of these rock-cuttings are wholly nonsensical and untrustworthy. The majority of the people in the immediate vicinity call the holes *rōḷḷu* or "mortars," and declare that they were made and used by the gods of old for removing the husk from their paddy. Others again affirm these to be the marks of cannon balls. With equal reason they conjecture that every rock which gives out a hollow sound because of some internal flaw is the receptacle of the *dhanam* or wealth of these same gods. The name, however, which the hill still bears points to the spot as the former abode of human beings—whether the "five Pandavas" or not cannot be deter-

mined. The evident purpose of the rock-cut sockets was the erection of dwellings. The cromlechs and the cave afford proof positive that the hill was inhabited, while the infinite labour with which the rocky hill must have been levelled and the sockets cut, the exact dimensions, elaborate arrangement, and probable palatial character of the buildings themselves seem to point to the fact that the beings who constructed and occupied them were no mean order of men.

Indo-Danish Coins.

(By T. M. RANGA CHARI, B.A., AND T. DESIKA CHARI, B.A.)

Following the footsteps of other European nations, the Danes, impelled by a spirit of commercial enterprise, sought, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, to establish settlements in India. In 1612, an association, called the Danish East India Company, was formed at Copenhagen, which fitted out an expedition to the Coromandel Coast.

Their first ship, the *Oeresund*,[1] arrived in India in 1618 or 1619, and the captain of the vessel, Rodant or Roelant Crape, who had visited the court of Tanjore before, in order the sooner to effect a landing, is said to have wrecked his ship off Tranquebar. Thence he contrived to reach Tanjore, and the company obtained from the Naik Rajah of that principality a little seaport town, eighteen miles north of Negapatam, known as Tranquebar. A fort, called Dansborg, was soon after built, and a factory established. Shortly after this (1624) the settlement became the property of the Danish king, to whom the Company owed money.

The next Danish settlement of note was Serampore, a town on the right bank of the Hoogly, which acquired some celebrity, as being the spot where the Baptist Missionaries, foremost among whom were Carey, Ward and Marshman first established themselves, making it the centre of their christianizing efforts in India.[2] 'It is,' says Heber, 'a handsome place, kept beautifully clean and looking more like a European town than Calcutta or any other of the neighbouring cantonments.' 'Serampore was for some time the

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[1] See Fenger's History of the Tranquebar Mission (1863).

[2] Hunter's Gazetteer of India.

Alsatia of Calcutta,'[3] as it afforded refuge to insolvent debtors, and others whose affairs rendered it prudent for them to disappear from the Anglo-Indian metropolis. The loss of its immunities however soon changed this state of affairs.

The Danes also had a factory at Porto Novo, the town famed in South Indian history for the complete victory gained there by Sir Eyre Coote.

As early as the year 1667, when Bengal enjoyed rest and quiet under the peaceful reign of Sujah Khan and Sahista Khan, the Danes had entered the Hoogly, side by side with the English, the French, and the Dutch, and had embarked in trade with the natives of the country,[4] though they took no prominent part in the struggles that ensued for political supremacy. While M. Dupleix was carrying on his wars in the south, and endeavouring to become the virtual ruler of the Dakhan and Karnatic, or afterwards, while Robert Clive was crippling the power of Suraja Dowla on the field of Plassey, and thus laying the foundation of the British Empire in the east, the Danish Missionaries were going on foot from village to village, teaching the truths of Christianity wherever they went, with piety as simple as it was pure.

For a period of more than two hundred years the Danish power enjoyed undisturbed possession of its settlements in the east, except for a short time at the commencement of the present century. In 1808[5] Tranquebar was taken by the British with the other Indo-Danish possessions owing to the war that was then raging between the two countries. A treaty of peace was however concluded in January 1814, and under its operation the Danish possessions were restored. In 1845 Tranquebar, Serampore and Porto Novo were purchased by the British from Denmark.

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[3] Thornton's Gazetteer of India.

[4] Marshman's History of India.

[5] Fenger's History of the Tranquebar Mission, page 303.

During the time of the Danish power in India, Denmark was under the sway of several kings, a list of whose names is given below with the dates of the accession of each.

Christian IV	..	..	..	A.D.	1588
Frederick III	..	..	..	A.D.	1648
Christian V	..	..	..	A.D.	1670
Frederick IV	..	..	..	A.D.	1699
Christian VI	..	..	..	A.D.	1730
Frederick V	..	..	..	A.D.	1746
Christian VII	..	..	..	A.D.	1766
Frederick VI	..	..	..	A.D.	1808
Christian VIII	..	..	..	A.D.	1839

The first king of note among these was Frederick III who, by his intrepid behaviour in the midst of misfortunes, endeared himself to his subjects, and was chosen hereditary and absolute king of the three estates of the realm. At his accession half a century had elapsed since the establishment of the small settlement in the east, and by this time the affairs of the colony had been put in order and trade had begun to flourish, the increasing emergencies whereof necessitated an independent coinage for Tranquebar and the other Danish settlements in India. The earliest issue we know of is a copper coin of this king, of about the size of a quarter farthing.

Fig. 1. Weight: 18 grains.

Obverse.—The monogram of the king F. 3. The letter F and the numeral 3, side by side, surmounted by a crown.

Reverse.—A lion or unicorn passant to the left with a crown on its head, holding in its paws a branch or a curved dagger.

The coin bears no date. A noteworthy feature in the Indo-Danish Coins is that, like the Indo-Portuguese Coins, they have no inscription in any of the vernacular languages of the country.

Christian V succeeded Frederick III in the year 1760. Figs. 2, 3 and 4 are coins of this reign.

Fig. 2.—The average weight of nearly a dozen specimens of this series is 13·7 grains, though one good issue weighs 17·1 grain.

Obverse.—An artistically executed monogram of the king —consisting of two linked C's with the numeral 5 in each— surmounted by a crown, with the numeral 8 to the left and 9 to the right of the monogram, thus reading 89, the whole encircled by a ring of dots.

Reverse.—The monogram D.O.C. corresponding to the V.O.C. (Vereinigte Ostindische Compagnie) on the coins of the Dutch East India Company, surmounted by a crown, with DK. (?) under the monogram, a figure like W. to the left and one like the letter P. reversed to the right.

The numeral 89 represents the year 1689; what the W. and P. mean we cannot say. The HK. or DK. may stand for either two Kash or Danish Kash.

Another issue of apparently the same reign has—

Obverse.—The monogram D.O.C., surmounted by a crown, with the numeral 1 to the left, 6 (?) to the right and 97 underneath, thus reading 1 (6) 97.

Reverse.—The coin is rather worn, only a remnant of what may be the monogram of Christian V—with the two linked C's—being visible.

We assign this coin to the reign of Christian V for the following reason:—The monogram D.O.C., as we shall presently see, is found only on coins of Christian V and Frederick IV and not on those of any subsequent monarch; consequently this coin must belong to one of these two sovereigns; the year 97 then can only mean 1697, which year would place it in the reign of Christian V.

Fig. 3. Weight: 12·4 grains.

Obverse.—There distinctly appears a crown in the field, but the monogram is not clear. It may be fairly asked why this coin should be held not to belong to Frederick IV— 1699 being the year both of the death of Christian V and the accession of Frederick IV. The reasons, however, for

placing it in the reign of the former are:—(1) the type of this coin is certainly older than that of the coins of Frederick IV, (Figs. 5 and 6) there being a marked advance in the form of the D.O.C.: (2) though in the obverse of this coin, there appears a crown, it differs considerably from that which surmounts the monogram of Frederick IV, either in the earlier or in the later variety of his issues: (3) this coin bears a striking resemblance to Fig. 2, which certainly belongs to the reign of Christian V, as it bears the monogram of that king distinctly.

Reverse.—The monogram of the Company—D.O.C.—surmounted by a quaint crown with the numeral 1 to the left, 6 to the right and 99 underneath, thus reading 1699.

Fig. 4.—This is a very bad specimen, and what inscription there was on the reverse is now totally obliterated.

Weight: 11·7 grains.

Obverse.—The monogram of the king C. 5--Capital C. enclosing the numeral 5—surmounted by a crown.

Frederick IV succeeded Christian V in 1699. He sent in 1706 a Protestant Mission to Tranquebar, which did some good work, but whose progress it is needless here to trace. There are two varieties of the coins of this reign.

Fig. 5. Earlier variety.

Average weight: 13·6 grains.

Obverse.—A crown above the monogram of the king, which in this series consists of the letter F and the numeral 4 combined.

Reverse.—The monogram D.O.C. in large capital letters surmounted by a similar crown.

Fig. 6.—Later variety.

This coin is more neatly executed than the last.

Weight: 13·8 grains.

Obverse.—The monogram of the king—Frederick IV—the letter and numeral no longer in combination, surmounted by an elegant crown.

Reverse.—Very much worn, though we can with some difficulty decipher D.O.C. under a crown.

No date appears on either coin.

Christian VI was Frederick's successor, and came to the throne in the year 1730.

A change in the monogram of the Company seems to have been made at the time; for while all the coins of Christian V and Frederick IV have the monogram D.O.C., we have not come across a single specimen of Christian VI, or any of his successors bearing this monogram, but henceforth an A takes the place of the O. What led to this change in the name of the Company we cannot say.

The coins of Christian VI occur in various sizes, but are generally of but two different varieties.

Fig. 7.—This coin is figured by Captain R. H. C. Tufnell in Plate 4, Fig. 67, of his recent "Hints to Coin-collectors."

Weight: 32·7 grains.

Obverse.—The monogram of the king—C. enclosing the numeral 6—surmounted by a crown.

Reverse.—A similar crown above the monogram of the Company, D.A.C. (Danish Asiatic Company[6] or Direction of the Asiatic Company).

Fig. 8 belongs to a later variety.

Average weight: 41·2 grains.

This is probably a IV KASH piece of Christian VI, as its weight is but a few grains more than the average of the coins of that value struck by Christian VII and recorded below.

Obverse.—Similar to the last.

Reverse.—The monogram D.A.C., in larger and bolder characters than in the last, with a sort of ornamental work above the monogram and the numeral 4 standing for 4 kash beneath it.

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[6] See Fenger's History of the Tranquebar Mission, p. 266.

We have in our cabinet also two other coins of this reign, weighing 22 and 7·2 grains, respectively. Both these seem to have suffered much from circulation, so much so that the only thing clearly visible on either of them is the monogram of the king on one side (Fig. 10). A comparison of the weights of these coins, with Fig. 7, making allowances for the decrease in weight caused by wear, seems to establish the fact that this coin is a IV KASH piece, while the two last are 2 and 1 kash, respectively.

The next king of Denmark was Frederick V, who came to the throne in 1746. It may be of interest to know that he married Princess Louisa, the daughter of the king of England.

Coins of this king in our cabinet are of two sizes: the smaller of the two is a one-kash piece, being nearly ¼ of the weight of the larger, which is nearly equal in weight to that of the 4 kash pieces of Christian VII and his successors.

Fig. 9.—We have two coins of this size.

Average weight: 39·7 grains.

Obverse.—The monogram of the king.—The letter F and the numeral 5 being combined and surmounted by a neatly executed crown which is however much worn on the specimen figured.

Reverse.—The monogram D.A.C. with the date distributed on either side and the numeral 4 underneath. The reading of the date furnishes the year 176—with a gap, which may be supplied by any digit under 7, Frederick V having died in 1766.

Another issue of this king weighs 9·2 grains. Its obverse and reverse are very similar to the last; the only difference being that the numeral 1 appears in the place of the 4 under the monogram, to denote the value of the coin,—1 KASH.

Of Christian VII we have a fairly long series of coins in copper and silver. We have not been able to find any gold issues of the Danish mint, nor have we as yet heard of issues in silver before Christian VII. Copper coins of

his, as far as we know, consist of IV and II kash pieces, the latter being rarely met with. There are two types of these coins, one evidently earlier than the other.

Fig. 11.—X KASH of the earlier type, weighing 92·55 grains.

Obverse.—The monogram of the king—two linked C's with the numeral 7 combined with each—surmounted by a crown.

Reverse.—The monogram of the Company—D.A.C.—surmounted by a crown; under the monogram in a line is inscribed X. K.A.S. The next line consists of an A. probably intended to denote anno: and the date, the reading of which gives us 177—.

Fig. 12.—A four-kash piece of the older type.

Obverse.—The monogram of the king—a single C. enclosing the numeral 7—surmounted by a crown.

Reverse.—The monogram of the Company with the date distributed on either side and the 4 again under the monogram. The reading of the date furnishes the year 1770,—5 years after the accession of Christian VII. We have also a coin of 1771, both being in a tolerably good state of preservation.

A two-cash piece of this king in our collection is as follows:

Weight: 17·2 grains.

Obverse.—The monogram of the king C. VII as in the last.

Reverse.—The monogram of the Company—D.A.C.—with the date distributed on either side and the numeral 2 underneath. This numeral 2 occupies the same place as that of the 4 in the 4 kash pieces referred to.

We next come to the later variety of the coins of this reign.

Fig. 13.—X KASH of Christian VII.

Weight: 88·7 grains.

Obverse.—The monogram of the king C. VII—single C enclosing the numeral 7—under a crown.

Reverse.—X. KAS. in large characters with the date under the inscription, the reading of which gives the year 1786.

Fig. 14.—Average weight: 36·6.

Obverse.—The monogram of the king—C. VII—surmounted by a crown.

Reverse.—IV KAS. and date.

These IV KASH pieces continued to be issued during the following reigns, bearing the monogram of the reigning monarch till 1845, when Tranquebar ceased to be in Danish hands.

Those in our cabinet are of the following years:—1788, 1790, 1797, 1800, 1816, 1817, 1820, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1835, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, and 1845.

We have already seen that the Danish possessions in India were for a time (1808—1814) in English hands. We have of course not seen or heard of any coins struck during this period, as the mint naturally suspended operations.

On examining the two varieties of the coins of Christian VII, we find that the earlier bear, on the reverse, the monogram of the Company and the date, while the later variety, still preserving the same obverse, bear on the reverse the value of the coin, viz. X or IV KAS. and the date. This change seems to have taken place at the end of the last century between 1771 and 1780, for we have in our cabinet a 4 KASH of 1771 of the former type and a IV KASH of 1780 of the latter, and we have seen a IV KASH of the later style bearing the date 177—.

Silver coins of Christian VII are of two sizes, the larger being exactly twice the smaller in weight.

Fig. 15, larger size.

Weight: 39·5 grains.

Obverse.—The monogram of the king, C. VII.—under a crown.

Reverse.—A word which appears to be 'ROVALIN' or 'ROYALIN,' over what looks like a globe or a coat-of-arms, the date being distributed on either side thereof. The reading of the date gives the year 179—the last digit being obliterated. Coins of this size are very rare.

Fig. 16, smaller size.

Obverse.—Same as last.

Reverse.—The same word over the coat-of-arms, (?) the date 1784 being distributed on either side. We have not been able to make out the meaning of this word Rovalin. These silver pieces would appear to be fanams and half fanams. Dr. P. Kelly, in his Universal Cambyst (1821), says that 8 fanams went to a Danish Rupee and a rupee was worth $24\frac{5}{8}$*d.* sterling; and, according to a calculation given by him, a fanam would weigh a little more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ dwts., which is the weight of the coin figured as No. 15. These coins are also rare.

We have never met with any Danish Rupees in the course of our coin hunting. Our earliest silver coin bears the date 1770, and the latest 1793. It is probable that the silver coins began to be issued simultaneously with the later type of IV KASH pieces of Christian VII; X cash pieces of Christian VII in silver occur but are rare; we have a specimen of this coin, but the inscription on it is too far gone to be decipherable.

Frederick VI, as crown prince for some years, administered the affairs of the State conjointly with his father. In 1808 he became sole ruler.

Fig. 17.—X KASH of Frederick VI.

Average weight: 90·6 grains; but the specimen figured weighs as much as 97·9 grains.

Obverse.—The monogram of the king—consisting of F. R. with the Roman numeral VI beneath—surmounted by a crown.

Reverse.—X. KAS. and date.

We have X. KASH pieces of this reign, bearing the following dates :—1816, 1822 and 1839, and we have heard of one bearing the date 1838.

Fig. 18.—A fair representative of a long series of coins (1808-1839) weighing on an average 37·96 grains.

Obverse.—The monogram of Frederick VI. as in Fig. 17.

Reverse.—IV KAS. and date.

There probably were two-kash pieces of C. VII. in the later form; also one-kash pieces of that king and two and one-kash pieces of his successor, though we have not come across any specimens of them.

We have also heard of a one-kash piece of Frederick VI in which however the date is gone.

Silver coins of Frederick VI and his successor seem to be very rare. Captain R. H. C. Tufnell mentions in Part II of his recent " Hints to Coin-collectors " a " 2—fano " of 1816 in his cabinet, with the exception of which we have not heard of any specimen.

During the six years succeeding the death of Frederick VI, X and IV KASH pieces continued to be issued in the name of his successor, Christian VIII.

Figs. 19 and 20 are fairly representative specimens, bearing on the obverse the monogram of the king—C. R. and the Roman numeral VIII beneath—under a crown.

In addition to the coins above described, we have several others, which however are for the most part too much worn to be legible. All the issues of the Danes in India are now becoming very rare indeed, and it is only by laying several of the same description side by side that anything like an intelligible legend can generally be deciphered, owing to the bad state of preservation of all but the latest types. Many too have monograms so complicated in design that in the absence of a date it is impossible to know to whom to attribute them. Among those to which we are unable to

assign a place is a coin similar to Tufnell, Fig. 66 ("Hints to Coin-collectors") but weighing only 16·4 grains; while the obverse bears the D.O.C. in large and well defined characters, the reverse is worn almost smooth. The coin however may belong to the reign of either Frederick IV or Christian V., probably the former, as the form of the letters differs materially from those of the latter, while the occurrence of the letter O in the monogram fixes it prior to 1746, the latest year in which that letter occurs. It is worthy of note too that hitherto so few silver coins struck by the Danes in India have been found; and of the four descriptions that are known, two are as far as we can learn unique in this country. Further search should throw more light on the subject and help to preserve in our museums and private collections a more complete record of the issues of a power whose connection with this country has now almost entirely ceased.

NOTE.

Since writing the above paper, the Superintendent of the Government Central Museum has placed at our disposal Neumann's "Beschreibung der bekanutester kupfermünzen 1863," and Weyl's "Verzeihniss von Münzen und Denkmünzen der Jules Fonrobert'schen Sammburg," where the following coins to which we have made no reference are noticed :—

CHRISTIAN IV.

1. Copper.—*Obverse.*—The monogram of the king surmounted by a crown.

   Reverse TB (Tranquebar) KAS. 164.

2. Lead.—*Obverse.*—Same as the last.

   Reverse.—Illegible.

FREDERICK III.

1. Copper.—*Obverse.*—The monogram of the king, crowned, ANNO 1667.

   Reverse.—The Norwegian lion.

2. Lead.—*Obverse.*—The monogram of the king surmounted by a crown.

Reverse.—The arms of Jutland.

Other coins, with a similar obverse, have on the reverse—

(*a*) the Gullandische lamb,
(*b*) the Holstein nettleleaf,
(*c*) the arms of Stormarn,
(*d*) the arms of Delmenhorst,
(*e*) the arms of Island,
(*f*) a rose,
(*g*) the letters (D.B. Dansborg) with an illegible date below.

3. Lead.—*Obverse.*—F_3 and a crown.

Other coins, with a similar obverse, have on the reverse—

(*a*) an elephant,
(*b*) a cross, and
(*c*) a dragon.

CHRISTIAN V.

1. Silver.—Piaster.
2. Do. 5 and 2 FANOS of the date 1683.
3. Lead.—*Obverse.*—Crowned monogram and date 1687.

Reverse.—DOC and the letters WHVK.

4. Copper.—Coins of this monarch with the monogram C_5 doubled, of the dates 1691, 1692, 1693 and 1694.

FREDERICK IV.

1. Silver.—Single and double FANOS.
2. Copper.—X KAS.

Obverse.—The monogram of the king F_4 doubled and surmounted by a crown.

Reverse.—DOC X KAS.

3. Copper.—IV KAS.

Obverse.—Crowned monogram.

Reverse.—TB (Tranquebar).

CHRISTIAN VI.

1. Silver.—Single and double FANOS of 1731.
2. Copper.—KASH.

Obverse.—The monogram C_6 crowned.

Reverse.—Ƀ (Tranquebar).

3. Do. Coin similar to the above with date 1732.
4. Do. 1 KAS.

Obverse.—Crowned monogram C_6 date 1730.

Reverse.—The Norwegian lion surrounded by a ring of dots.

5. Do. 2 KAS similar to the 4 KAS of this period with the numeral 2 instead of 4.

FREDERICK V.

1. Silver.—Double and single Royalins of 1755 and 1756.
2. Do. Single Royalin of 1762, 1765 and 1766.
3. Do. Double and single Ducats of 1746 and Piaster of 1749.

CHRISTIAN VII.

1. Gold.—Pagoda.

Obverse.—C_7 on a granulated surface.

Reverse.—The figure of a diety.

2. Silver.—Single Royalins of 1773, 1775, 1776, 1780, 1781, 1786, 1788 and 1792.
3. Do. Double Royalins of 1775, 1776, 1781, 1787, 1796, and 1807.
4. Copper.—Earlier X KAS of 1768, 1770, 1772 and 1777.

Do. Later X KAS of 1782, 1786, 1788 and 1790.

Do. 2 KAS of 1770 and 1780.

Do. 1 KAS of 1777 and 1780.

FREDERICK VI.

1. Silver.—Single FANO of 1816 and 1818.
2. Copper.—1 KAS of 1819 similar to iv KAS.

On the Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarṣa or India.

[*Continued from p.* 137 *of this Journal for* 1887-88.]

(By GUSTAV OPPERT.)

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PART II.

THE GAUDIANS.

CHAPTER VII.

Philological Remarks.

Having in the first part of my work treated of the Dravidians, I have now to deal with the other aboriginal tribes of India, whom I have classed together under the name of Gaudian. As already intimated, I derive the term *Gaudian* from the root *ko*, mountain.

This word *ko* or *ku* is of the old Turanian stock. It is still extant in the Tamil கோ, *kō*, mountain, and can be easily recognized in many expressions found in Telugu, Gondi, and other kindred dialects. Among words which perhaps are related to it is the Persian کوه (*kōh*, *kūh*,) or کہ (*koh*, *kuh*) mountain; for Persian, I would remark, contains a considerable number of Turanian words which have their representatives in the Gauda-Dravidian dialects of India. The Sanskrit word *gō* has many different meanings, most of which are also expressed by its Tamil tatsamam *kō;* but *gō* in Sanskrit does not, so far as my knowledge goes, signify mountain, while, as already indicated, *kō* occurs in Tamil in the sense of mountain. As the root *kō* can be traced in other Gauda-Dravidian dialects as synonymous with mountain, it is pretty clear that the Tamil *kō*, mountain, is a separate word not identical with the term *kō*, denoting cow, &c.; and that it is not of Sanskrit but of Gauda-Dravidian origin.[1]

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[1] About the derivation of Gaudian from *ko*, see p. 41 in the previous number. *Tatsamam* is a word introduced from Sanskrit into an Indian vernacular with little or no change.

The word *kō* is found in *Kōi*, *Kōya*, *Kōyi* and *Kōdu*, &c., which mean in Telugu and Gondi a *mountaineer* or *Gond;* also in *Kōna*, mountain-glen, or

The Gauda-Dravidian numerical roots *o(r)* one, and *mū*, three, are found in Tamil as *onṟu* (*oru* and *oṉṉu*) and *mūnṟu*, in Malayālam as *onnu* and *mūnnu*, in Telugu as *oṇḍu* and *mūḍu*, in Kanarese as *ondu* and *mūru*, in Tulu as *oñji* and *mūji*, in Mādi as *undi* (wandi) and *mundu*, in Gondi as *undi* and *mūnu* (mund), in Kurgi as *ondu* and *mundu*. In a similar manner the root *ko* (*ku*), mountain, has developed in Tamil into *kunṟu*, *kunṟam*, and *kāṇḍam*, in Malayālam into *kunnu*, *kunnam*, and *kuṟu*, in Telugu into *koṇḍa*, *guṇḍu* and *guṭṭa*, in Kanarese into *guḍḍa*, in other dialects into *kuṇḍu*, &c. The tribal names *Koṟacaru* and *Koṟavaru*, mountaineers, permit the assumption of a root *koṟa*.[2] The fact that lingual and dental letters are promiscuously used in these formations, is rather peculiar. Lingual and dental affixes must have been indiscriminately employed in Dravidian languages for the construction of words; thus *ondu* signifies *one* (and *oṇṭi*, single)

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dale. The term *ku* is preferred by the Khonds, for Colonel John Campbell states on p. 13 in his *Personal Narrative of Service among the Wild Tribes of Khondistan:* "The hill districts of Orissa . . are peopled generally by Khonds, or *Kui*, as they call themselves."—The name of the *Koyanā*, one of the seven rivers which flow from the Mahābalēśvara mountain, is "derived either from Kuvena, or from *Koh*, a primitive term signifying a mountain." See *Bombay Asiatic Journal*, vol. IX, p. 253. With respect to the New-Persian and Parsi *koh*, mountain, I should mention that *kaufa*, mountain, occurs in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Persian king Darius at the Behistūn. In Huzvāresh mountain is *kūph*. Yet it is not impossible that in spite of this fact, the word *ko* (*ku*) may also in this case be originally Non-Aryan.

Only where Tamil letters actually occur, they are transcribed according to the principle contained in note 1 on p. 31 of Part I.

[2] Rev. Dr. Gundert in his *Malayalam and English Dictionary* presupposes a root *o*. Bishop Caldwell while advocating in his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages* on pp. 217-223, the assumption of a basis *or*, writes on p. 220: "Dr. Gundert considers *ondru* an euphonised form of *on*, with the addition of *du*, the neuter formative, and that *on* and *or* are equivalents, being both verbal nouns from *o*, to be one. It is quite true that such a verb as *o* exists, that *n* or *an*, alternating with *am*, is used as a formative by many nouns, and that *n* sometimes changes into or alternates with *r* or *ṟ*." And on p. 222: "There is a verbal root in Tamil *o*, which has been supposed to mean, to be one. *On* and *or* (*ondru* and *oru*) are supposed by Dr. Gundert to be verbal nouns from this *o*. An undoubted derivative of *o* in Tamil and Malayālam is *okka*, which in Malayālam and the Tamil of the extreme south means 'altogether,' 'all' (compare Mordvin *wok*, all); and this is supposed

in Kanarese corresponding to the Telugu *oṇḍu,* and in Telugu *Kōḍu* and *Gōndu* mean a Khond, while their equivalents in Sanskrit are *Kōṇḍa* and *Gōṇḍa*, to which corresponds the Telugu *Koṇḍaruḍu.*[3]

The addition of these lingual and dental affixes with or without a nasal, is a peculiarity of the Gauda-Dravidian languages.[4] The change of *k* into the other gutturals *kh*, *g,* and *gh*, or perhaps more properly the interchange between them, need hardly be mentioned, being of such frequent occurrence; nor is it necessary to draw attention to the resemblance in the pronunciation of the vowels *a, u* and *o,* and to their being promiscuously used the one for the other, *e.g.*, in *Kuḍaku* and *Koḍaku*, the name of the province Kurg, in *Kuṟavañji* or *Koṟavañji,* a common expression for a female gipsy.[5]

The names of most of the Gaudian races are formed from the above-given variations of *ko*, a circumstance which explains the very considerable differences occasionally

by Dr. Gundert to be identical with the Telugu *oka*, one. Every step in this process, with one exception, is encumbered with difficulties.'' The question is still very doubtful, and can be hardly ever settled. Bishop Caldwell himself admits on p. 220 that: "*or*, in its primitive, unnasalised shape, is not now found in the cultivated Dravidian dialects as the first abstract neuter noun of number for one or unity." The Rev. F. Kittel seems to agree with the Bishop as he writes in his "Notes concerning the Numerals of the Ancient Dravidians" in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, p. 24: "1, ondu, onṟu (pronounce: ondu), oñji, or, ōr, om, on, ondu, ottu, to be undivided, to be one. A unit without a branch." * * "When the affix *du* is joined to a short monosyllabic root with final *r*, the root in this case being *or*, this liquid is sometimes changed into the Bindu. Observe *du* has become *ji* (in Tulu)."

[3] *Koḍu*, steep, *kōḍu*, peak, and similar words belong to this group. *Ku* and *gō* denote in Sanskrit earth, hence *kukīla*, mountain (a peg or pin of the earth). Whether any connection exists between the Sanskrit *kuṭa*, mountain, fort; *kuṭṭāra* and *kuṭṭīra*, mountain; *kūṭa*, mountainpeak; *kōṭa*, fort; and *kōṭi*, end, &c., and some Gauda-Dravidian words of similar sound and same meaning, is now very difficult to decide. Except *kūṭa*, which occurs already in the Ṛgvēda, none of these Sanskrit terms are found in very ancient works.

[4] It is thus conspicuous in the formation of some irregular plurals in Telugu.

[5] See p. 112 of last number.

noticeable in their outward appearance. People resort in private life to a variety of names in order to facilitate distinction between kindred individuals, families and clans. The same name is often borne by various tribes who, though originally akin to one another, dwell separately in distant places of the large Indian continent. Some tribal terms originally unobjectionable have had attributed to them in course of time a disparaging meaning,—such terms, for instance, as *Pariah* and *Caṇḍāla.* Yet, neither individuals nor races should be despised simply for the name they bear, particularly, if it is uncertain whether any stigma can be attached to them on that account. This caution should be strictly observed, especially as identical terms have often different significations in the various districts and separate communities of so vast a country as India.

Application of the term Gaudian.

I am aware that it is impossible to be too cautious in drawing up such lists as the following, the more so if they are the first of their kind; but one must guard as much against mistakes of omission as of commission. It is preferable, I believe, in a research like this, to make at first comprehensive statements, and to leave to the competent critic the task of pruning them.

I regard under these circumstances the following tribes and races as belonging to the Gaudian division :—the Kōi (Kui, Ku, Koital, Kōya, Kōyi), Kōdu and Gōndu or Koṇḍa (Khoṇḍa, Kuṇḍa, Kavuṇḍa, Gauḍa, Goṇḍa, and Gauṇḍa) or Kaṇḍa (Khaṇḍa, Kaṇḍara, Caṇḍa, and Caṇḍāla), Toda, Kōta, Koḍaga, Koṟaga, Kōla (Cōla), Koli, Kulu, Koṟacaru (Korcaru, Korsaru, Kuṟuciyar, Gurcari), Koṟava (Koṟama), Kuṟuva (Kuṟu, Yerakala, Kuṟuma, Kuṟumba, Kurmi), Kunnuva, &c.

The following Sanskrit names can, I believe, be connected with the Gaudians, though it may be difficult actually

to prove such a connection always. *Tribal* names such as :—Gauḍa, Gauḍaka, Gōṇḍa, Kaṇḍōla, Khaṇḍa, Caṇḍāla, Kōntala, Kuṇḍala, Kuntala, Kuṇṭhaka, Kunti, Kuntika, Kuraṭa, Kōnvaśira, Kōla, Kōlvagirēya, Cōla (Cōḍa), &c. The following names of *men :* Kuṇḍa, Kuṇḍika, Kuṇḍina, Kōla, Cōla, &c.; of *women:* Kuṇḍalā, Kunti, &c.; of *countries :* Gauḍa, Khāṇḍava, Kunti, &c.; of *mountains :* Kunda, Kuṇḍōda, Kuraṅga, Kōnva, Kōlagiri (Kōllagiri), Kōlāhala, &c.; of *streams :* Kuṇḍalā, &c.; of *forests :* Gōṇḍavana (Gōṇḍavāra), Khāṇḍava, &c.; of *plants :* Kunda (or *Malli*, jasmine), Kuṇḍalī (mountain ebony); and of *towns :* Gauḍa (Gōṇḍa), Gaura, Khāṇḍavaprastha, Kuṇḍaprastha, Kuṇḍāgni, Kuṇḍina(pura), &c.[6]

Ptolemy mentions among Indian tribes the Gonds as Kandaloi (VII, 1,66).[7] Strabo speaks of the country Gandaris or Gandarītis[8] in the north-west of India, while Ptolemy distinguishes (VI, 12, 4) between the Kandaroi in Sogdiana

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[6] *Koi-jāti* is a term generally given to the *Kōi* tribe. In the July number, 1837, of the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, the Rev. William Taylor remarks as follows on page 17 : "In the title to Mr. Stevenson's paper on their customs, they (the Khoonds) are styled కోదులు *Codulu* and in Dr. Maxwell's list *Khoi-jāti*."

It is perhaps not quite out of place to mention among the tribal names also the *Gandhāra*, *Gāndhāra* or *Gandhāri*, who appear in the Behistūn inscription among the subjects of Darius Hystaspes as *Gandāra*. If this is the case, the name of the Queen *Gāndhārī* would find a place among the female names connected with the Gaudians. Some connect the name of *Kandahar* with the Gāndhāras, while others derive the name of the town Kandahar from Alexander the Great.

I omit to include above in the text the names of the other sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra: Kuṇḍabhēdin, Kuṇḍadhāra, Kuṇḍaka, Kuṇḍaśāyin and Kuṇḍōdara.

[7] See P. I, p. 110, note 70. Christian Lassen used the edition of E. G. Willberg and wrote in vol. I, p. 113 (88), No. 2 : "Ich lese mit Willberg *Gondaloi* statt *Kondaloi*." I used C. F. A. Nobbe's edition, which contains on p. 155 Κάνδαλοι.

[8] See *Strabōnos Geōgraphika* recensuit G. Kramer, Berolini, 1852, lib. XV, 1, 26 (Casaubonus, p. 697) : The *Choaspes* (Attock) runs into the Kōphes (Cabul) near the town Plēmyrion, after passing by Gōrys, another city and going through Bandobēnē and Gandarītis ; and XV, 1, 30 (Casaubonus, p. 699) : Some call *Gandaris* the country subject to him (the nephew of Porus).

(VI, 12, 4) and the Gandarai (VII, 1, 44) between the Suastos and Indos.[9] The same geographer names also the Korankaloi (VII, 2, 15), who lived probably near the river Gaṇḍakī, which Plinius calls Condochates in his Natural History. Omitting a number of places, which may perhaps refer to the Gaudian population and are mentioned in the work of Ptolemy, I only draw attention to Kandipatna (VII, 1, 92), Kondōta (VII, 1, 14), Konta (VII, 1, 51), Kontakossyla emporion (VII, 1, 15), Koreūr (VII, 1, 86), Korindiur (VII, 1, 89), Korunkala (VII, 1, 93), and Kōrygaza (VII, 2, 14).[10]

Explanation of the use of Gauḍa (Gaudian) as a Tribal Name.

The term Gauḍa (Gaudian) is now generally regarded as appropriate to North India, while Drāviḍa is connected with South India. Neither term is used in its widest sense, for this division, though right in a general way, ignores the fact that many Gaudian elements are found in the south, while the north contains numerous Dravidian constituents. In fact both branches of the kindred stock exist side by side throughout the land. With this restriction, the use of both terms may be admitted.

The word *Gauḍa* is a derivative of the root *kō,* mountain, and its equivalents are Gōḍa and Gōṇḍa.[11] The substitution of *r* and *l* for *ḍ* gives Gaura and Gaula, which five forms

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[9] Ptol. VI, 12, 4. "Εἶτα παρὰ τὰ Σόγδια ὄρη Ὀξυδρᾶγκαι καὶ Δρυβάκται, καὶ Κάνδαροι," and VII, 1, 44 : Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Σουάστου καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ Γανδάραι."

[10] See C. Plinii Secundi *Naturalis historiæ*, lib. VI, 22 : "Ex iis navigabiles, praeter iam dictos, *Condochatem*, Eranoboam, Cosoagum, Sonum." I have not included the *Gaṇḍakī* among the rivers, as its name is generally derived from *gaṇḍaka,* rhinoceros, which are said to be found in it. I regard this etymology as doubtful.

[11] See General Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. I, pp. 327, 328 : "In Uttara Kosala they (the districts) are *Gauḍa* (vulgarly Gonda) to the south of the Rapti, and Kosala to the north of the Rapti. . These apparent discrepancies are satisfactorily explained when we learn that *Gauda* is only a sub-division of Uttara Kosala, and that the ruins

occur simultaneously. There is no reason for supposing that Gauḍa is an antiquated Sanskrit formation; it was originally not Sanskrit at all, though it was received in course of time into the Sanskrit vocabulary. So far from being antiquated, it is still used in popular language. The modern Gauḍas have formed themselves into a separate clan, the greater part of which dwells at present in Southern India. The chief of a village, even when the principal villagers do not belong to the Gauḍa caste, is in Mysore and its neighbouring districts now generally called the Gauḍan. It must not, however, be overlooked that in spite of this fact the term Gauḍa has a tribal meaning and was probably given to the headman of a village community in consequence of the honorable position the Gauḍas occupied in the estimation of the population. According to the last Census report 259,110 *Gauḍas* live in Mysore alone, and 4,387 in the

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of Srāvasti have actually been discovered in the district of *Gauda,* which is the Gonda of the maps. The extent of *Gauda* is also proved by the old name of Balrāmpur on the Rapti, which was formerly *Rāmgarh Gauda.*"

Compare also vol. XXI, p. 13: "*Gonda* (or *Goda*) is a large flourishing village . . 13 miles from Karwi...To the east of the village, . there is a pair of old temples.. known as Chandeli Mandar, or the 'Chandeli temples,' as all the old buildings are designated throughout Bundelkhand." See further, vol. IX, p. 151: "The name of *Gond* is simply a corruption of Gauḍa. In the northern Gauḍa, or Uttara Kosala, the chief town is still named *Gauḍa,* which the Muhammadans before us corrupted to Gonda. On the fingerposts leading to the place, the Nāgarī गौड *Gauḍa* and the English *Gonda* are placed side by side. I spent several months in the Central Provinces, and I never once heard the aborigines called *Gond,* but always *Gor*. Now, as *Gauḍa* is a pure Sanskrit word, it would seem that this was not their true name, and that it must have been derived from the country in which they dwelt. This appears the more probable when we learn that they do not call themselves either *Gond* or *Gor*, but *Koïtur*. It is also strongly confirmed by the fact that there are no Gonds in the northern Gauḍa, or Uttara Kosala, and none in the eastern Gauḍa or western Bengal . . My explanation of Gauḍa as a geographical term, which gave its name to the Gond people, instead of having received it from them, is still confirmed by the fact that numerous temples which are said to have been built by the Gonds, were certainly not erected by them." Sir A. Cunningham overlooks that *Kōitur*, the name which the Gonds give to themselves, is in reality identical with Gond, see p. 121.

Bombay Presidency. I am well aware of the fact that the term *Gauḍa* has often been derived from the Sanskrit *gô*, cow; but this I take to be a wrong derivation.[12]

The name is found in fact all over India. That the terms Gauḍa and Goṇḍa are synonymous is proved by the fact that the well-known district and its capital in Oudh are known both as Goṇḍa and Gauḍa. True, the term Gond signifies now only a section of the Gaudian population, but this affects neither its etymology nor the point at issue. On the contrary the common origin of both terms explains why one can be used for the other, or both for one and the same place or individual.

It is a curious coincidence that the national division of the Indian population into Gaudians and Dravidians was

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[12] There are altogether 263,497 *Gauḍas* and 161,353 *Gauḍes* in India. About the Gauḍas see Dr. Francis Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, second edition, vol. I, pp. 187, 207, 208, 274, 338, 340, 367, 395 and 396. On p. 187 he remarks: "The *Gauḍa*, called corruptly *Gaur*, and in the Mussulman language the *Potail*, is the chief *Ryut*, or farmer, in the village, and receives the whole dues of government.. The office of *Gauḍa* was originally hereditary; but now these persons are appointed by the Amildar, and continue in place so long as they keep up the collections to their supposed value, or until some other man undertakes, by bringing a greater number of farmers, to make the revenue more productive. The *Gauḍa* settles all disputes, in the same manner as hereditary chiefs of casts do." On pp. 207, 208, stands: "The Gauḍas here (in Colār) rent the villages, and every year make a new settlement with the *Amildar;* while they receive authority to take from the cultivators as much as they legally can. Some *Gaudas* rent two or three *Grāmas*, or villages; but to each there is an hereditary *Gauḍa*, who receives the title." See p. 338: "In all this part (Belluru) of the country it has been customary, when a new village was founded, for the person appointed to be hereditary *Gauda*, or chief, to place a large stone in or near the village. This stone is called the Curuvu Callu, or calf-stone, and is considered as representing the Grāma Devaru, or god of the village. The hereditary *Gauḍa* always officiates as *Pūjari* or priest; and at the annual village feast, after having rubbed it with oil, offers a sacrifice, with which he feasts his relations and the chief men of the place." On p. 274 we read: "The proper *Curubas* have hereditary chiefs, who are called *Gaudas*, whether they be head-men of villages or not, and possess the usual jurisdiction." See also p. 380. The title Gauḍan is esteemed in Mysore. About the name *Kauṇḍar*, see p. 127 in Part I. As *Gauḍa* so has *Gauli* been derived from *gō*, cow, compare p. 117. About *Gaula* see *Mysore Inscriptions* of L. Rice, pp. 20, 45, &c.

adopted by the Aryan Brahmans after they had settled in Bharatavarṣa, and like the Gaudians and Dravidians, the Gauḍa-Brahmans are mainly settled in the north, while the Drāviḍa-Brahmans preponderate in the south. I have already alluded to this classification in the first Part on pp. 49 and 50.

The five divisions of the Gauḍa-Brahmans are, as previously mentioned, named respectively after the Sarasvatī-river, Kānyakubja (the modern Kanauj), Gauḍa, Utkala now known as Orissa, and Mithila.

When applied to Brahmans, many explain the term Gauḍa as describing those who lived near the celebrated ancient town of Gauḍa or Gaura, the ruins of which still excite the admiration of those who visit them. Others take Gauḍa as the kingdom of which Gaur was the capital.[13] It appears somewhat improbable that the Brahmans, who came originally from the West, should have chosen for themselves a name from a locality so far remote in the East. This supposition becomes even less likely if one considers

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[13] Instead of Karṇāṭa Kāśmīra is mentioned in the *Jātimālā*.

See H. T. Colebrooke's *Enumeration of Indian Classes* in his miscellaneous Essays, vol. II (1873), p. 159 : "In Jambu-dwípa, Bráhmaṇas are reckoned tenfold; Sáraswata, Kányakubja, Gauḍa, Maithila, Utkala, Drávida, Mahárâshṭra, Gujjara, and Káśmíra, residing in the several countries whence they are named."

Read *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XV, p. 39 : "The great city of *Gauda* or *Gaur*, the capital of Balāl Sen and his descendants . . is not mentioned at all by Hwen Thsang . . (p. 40) The name of the province in which Lakhnauti or Gaur was situated was *Barbanda* or *Baranda*. At the same time we know that the *Gauḍas* were a tribe, and that the Pāla Rajas took the title of *Gaureśvara*. It seems certain therefore that the western part of the province at least must have been called *Gauḍa* or *Gaur* . . (p. 41) The name of *Gauḍa* or *Gaur* is, I believe, derived from *Guḍa* or *Guṛ*, the common name of molasses, or raw sugar, for which this province has always been famous. In former days when the Ganges flowed past the city, Gaur was the great mart where all the sugar of the northern districts was collected for exportation."

This derivation of Gaur is also mentioned and recommended by others, but it is still doubtful. Gaur or Lakhnauti lies in lat. 24° 52′ N., long. 88° 10′ E., in the Maldah district of Bengal.

that some of the principal Gaudian sub-divisions are named after such western districts, as Kānyakubja, or the country watered by the sacred Sarasvatī which loses itself in the deserts north of Rājputāna.[14] Some scholars even state that the Brahmans known as Gauḍa-Brahmans are not Bengalis, but inhabitants of Hindustan proper, who according to their own legends left Kānyakubja and emigrated to the East in the time of the Pāṇḍavas.[15]

According to this tradition, the Kānyakubja Brahmans migrated to the Eastern Gauḍa at an early period, but the question when the division into Gauḍa and Drāviḍa Brahmans took place, remains unanswered. Nor are we better able to decide the reason of this peculiar separation. The most probable explanation may be that the Brahmans simply adopted the division which they found existing among the original inhabitants in the midst of whom they settled. In that case we have no means of assigning an historical date to this event. If, as I suppose, the Gauda-Dravidian population existed in this dual state already in prehistoric times, it will be very difficult indeed to ascertain when the Brahmans adopted this classification in their community.

[14] Compare H. H. Wilson's *Vishṇupurāṇa*, vol. II, p. 195, and Dr. John Wilson's *Indian Caste*, vol. II, pp. 124–139: "The Sārasvata Brāhmans form the only class of natives of India now distinctly recognized as connected with the Sārasvata nation. They are found, not only in the Panjāb and Sindh, where they abound, but in Rājputāṇa, Gujarāt, the North-West Provinces, and even, as we have seen, throughout the southern provinces of India" (pp. 125, 126). H. T. Colebrooke states in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, London, 1873, vol. II, p. 21: "The Sāraswata was a nation which occupied the banks of the river Saraswatī. Brāhmaṇas, who are still distinguished by the name of their nation, inhabit chiefly the Panjāb or Panchanada, west of the river from which they take their appellation."

[15] See H. T. Colebrooke, *ibidem*, vol. II, p. 25, note 1: "It is necessary to remark, that though Gaura (Gauḍa) be the name of Bengal, yet the Brāhmaṇas, who bear that appellation, are not inhabitants of Bengal, but of Hindustān proper. They reside chiefly in the Subā of Delhi, while the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal are avowed colonists from Kanoj. It is difficult to account for this contradiction. The Gaura Brāhmaṇas allege a tradition, that their ancestors migrated in the days of the Pāṇḍavas, at the commencement of the present Kali Yuga. Though no plausible conjecture can be formed on

Yet, considering that the Dravidians gravitated in the course of time towards the south, while the Gaudians preponderated in the north, and that the Brahmanic division corresponds with this fact, we may not err in assuming that the Brahmans introduced this arrangement among themselves after the Gauda-Dravidians had thus settled down in their respective places. However, even this supposition will not supply us with accurate dates, especially as Southern India was already known as Drāviḍa at a comparatively early period.

It seems thus very improbable that the Gauḍa-Brahmans were originally called after the celebrated town *Gauḍa*, or after the kingdom of which it was the capital, especially if the true derivation of this word is from *gauḍa*, गौड, molasses (from *guḍa*), and if *Gauḍadēśa* is an equivalent of *Sugarland*, an explanation which also appears to be doubtful. The name Gauḍa applies to most Brahmans in the North, but it is also used as specifying a particular sub-division; in the same manner as Drāvida has also a general and a special sig-

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this tradition, yet I am induced to retract a conjecture formerly hazarded by me, that the Gar of our maps was the original country of the Gaura priests."

Sir Henry M. Elliot supports in his *Supplementary Glossary of Indian Terms*, London, 1869, vol. I, p. 102, the Pāṇḍava legend: "They (the Gaur Brahmans) all state that they came from Gaur in Bengal, but there is much improbability in the story. There can be little doubt of Kanaujias emigrating on the invitation of Adiswara from Kanauj to Bengal; how then can we account for the whole tribe of Gaurs not only leaving their native seats, but crossing through the country of the Kanaujias, and dwelling on the other side of them? If they emigrated in or about the time of the Pāṇḍavas, as universal local tradition would induce us to suppose, it would lead to the inference that Kanaujias are a more modern race. Gaur, moreover, was only made the Bengal capital shortly before the Mahomedan conquest, and that is too late to admit of its giving a name to one of the ten tribes."—Compare also *ibidem* the remarks made on the *Gaur tagā* on pp. 106–115.

Dr. Francis Buchanan mentions the legend of a westward Brahmanic emigration from Gaur, but disapproves of it also finally. He alludes to it twice in the third volume of his *History, Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics of Eastern India*; thus on p. 42 he writes: "One (tradition) is that

nification. From what has been already stated, the origin of this expression is to be looked for in the West, though no doubt the subsequent preponderance of the Eastern Gauḍa kings made this fact fall into oblivion. *Kuśāmba*, a grandson of Balākāśva and son of Kuśa, is the reputed founder of the well-known town Kauśāmbī, south of Ayōdhyā and north-west of the modern Allahabad. The Hitōpadēśa places it in the Gauḍa country.[16] Similarly is the city Śrāvastī described as situated in Gauḍa, while it belongs to Kōsala, likewise a part of Oudh.[17] These and many more examples can be quoted to show that the term *Gauḍa* does not apply only to the distant East. Moreover, the tradition which Colebrooke has preserved assigns to the Gauḍa-Brahmans a western home and connects their origin with the wars of the Pāṇḍavas. I am inclined to attach to this legend some value, though I quite admit that we possess no records to prove its authenticity. If deserving notice, we ought to ascribe to this division a comparatively early date, while

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Janmeyaj, son of Parikshit, son of Abhemanyu, son of Arjun, brother of Yudhishthir, and the third king of India of the family of Pandu, removed all the Brahmans from Gaur and settled them to the west of the Ganges beyond Hastinapoor, where their descendants still remain." On pp. 154-155, however, he remarks: "The few Brahmans of the Gaur nation, that are now in Bengal, have avowedly come very recently from the west of India, and the same is the case with almost all the tribes of Sudras, who claim to be of the Gaur nation, none of whom, the Vaishnavs excepted, are now to be found in Gaur. I therefore concluded, that some place called Gaur in the vicinity of Agra or Delhi, was the original country of this nation. I have, however, since met with some well-informed Brahmans of this nation who allege, that the Gaur of Bengal is their original place of settlement, but that the whole of them were removed from thence by Janmeyaj, and placed near Hastinapoor. . . The Sudras, however, of Gaur, having as well as the Brahmans come from the west of India, renders this emigration in the time of Janmeyaj rather doubtful."

I have proved above the existence of a western Gauḍa (Gaur.)

Read about *Gaur*, also *ibidem*, vol. III, pp. 68–80.

[16] Compare *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 34, 6; *Pāṇini*, IV, 2, 68; *Hitōpadēśa* in Mitralābha: Asti Gauḍavishayē (Gauḍadēśē, Gauḍīyē) Kauśāmbī nāma nagarī.

[17] Compare *Vishṇupurāṇa*, vol. III, p. 263, and above p. 91 n. 11.

if the city of Gauḍa was not in existence when Ptolemy lived, it is evident that no Brahmans could have been called after it before his time. I merely call attention to this fact, though I object to the proposed derivation of the name Gauḍa-Brahman from the city of Gauḍa, whatever may have been the origin of the name of that town.

On the name Kolarian.

Before entering into any further particulars about the Gaudian group, it is necessary to make a few remarks on the name *Kolarian.* It has of late been repeatedly and authoritatively stated that India was in ancient times called Colaria, and that the Kols in Central India represent the real aborigines of India, to whom it is indebted for this name. To both these statements I demur, and though I admit the antiquity of the tribes which are now styled *Kolarian*, I would at once observe that the *Kōla* and *Kōli*, who are mentioned in the Epic and Pauranic Sanskrit literature, should not be confounded with the modern Kols.[18]

The Kolarian theory, if I may so call it, derives its main support from the writings of three eminent men, Colonel Wilford, Colonel Dalton, and Sir George Campbell, for whom I must needs have the greatest respect; but while recognizing their merit, I trust to be able to show that in this matter they have erred in their conclusions and built up a theory on very slender foundations. The view they maintain will be found presented in the following extracts.

According to Colonel Dalton the word Kol "is one of " the epithets of abuse applied by the Bramanical races to " the aborigines of the country who opposed their early " settlement, and it has adhered to the primitive inhabi-

[18] *Kōli*, as it occurs, *e.g.*, in Kōlisarpāḥ.

"tants of Chota-Nagpore for ages. It includes many "tribes; the people of this province to whom it is generally "applied are, either Moondah or Oraon; and though these "races are now found in many parts of the country occupying "the same villages, cultivating the same fields, celebrating "together the same festivals, and enjoying the same amuse-"ments, they are of totally distinct origin and cannot inter-"marry without loss of caste."[19]

Sir George Campbell is the inventor of the term *Kolarian*, and I shall now quote his arguments in favor of it: "The "generic name usually applied to the Aborigines of the "hill country of Chota-Nagpore, Mirzapore, and Rewah "is 'Coles' or 'Koles.' Europeans apply the term to the "Dravidian Oraons as well as to the others, but perhaps "erroneously. It is difficult to say to which tribes the "name is properly applied, for most of them have other "distinctive names. But in the south of the Chota-Nagpore "country, about Singbhoom, &c., it is certainly applied to "the 'Lurka Coles,' and I can myself testify that on the "Mirzapore-Jubbulpore road, the Aborigines are called by "the natives Coles or Kolees, which they volunteered to "explain to me to be the same word 'which you call "Coolee.' On the Bombay side again a very numerous class "of Aborigines are styled Kolees. In the Simla hills also, "the inferior people are known as Kolees. Altogether I "have myself little doubt that the ordinary word Coolee, as "applied to a bearer of burdens or labourer, is the same word, "and that in short it is the word generally applied by the "Northern Indians to the Aboriginal tribes, most of whom "they reduced to the condition of Helots. There seems to "be good reason to suppose that the original form of the

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[19] See Colonel Dalton's article "The Kols of Chota-Nagpore," in the Supplement to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XXXV, 1887, Part II, p. 154.

"word was 'Kola' or 'Kolar.' In fact, India seems to have "been known to the ancients (who approached it coastwise "from the West) as Colara or Coolee-land (*Asiatic Re-* "*searches*, vol. IX) and the people as Colaurians. If Kolar "be the original form of Kolee, it would seem not im- "probable that, as in the mouths of some tribes by dropping "the 'r' it becomes Kola or Kolee, so in the mouths of "others by dropping the 'l' it would become Koar, Kaur, "Koor, Khar, or Khor, a form which would embrace a "large number of those tribes as now designated. I propose "then to call the northern tribes Kolarian or Coolee "Aborigines.

"One may see frequent allusion to Kolaries or Colleries "in the south of India. It appears that the word there "used is properly 'Kallar.' In the Canarese language, the "word 'Kallar,' it seems, simply means a thief or robber, "and hence some of the predatory Aborigines of the hills, "are designated Kallars or robbers, just as the thieves of "Central Asia are called 'Kazaks' or 'Cossacks.' The word "is applied so differently from that of Coolee, that there "may fairly be doubt of its being the same. But the subject "is worthy of further inquiry, and if it prove that in fact "the two words are identical, the term Coolee or Kolarian "must be applied to the Aboriginal tribes generally, not to "one division of them. Meanwhile, however, I apply it to "the Northern tribes only, but I confess I have misgivings "whether the more general sense may not prove to be the "true one."[20]

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[20] See *The Ethnology of India*, by Mr. Justice Campbell, in the Supplement to Part II, pp. 27, 28 of vol. XXXV of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

Compare *A Comparative Dictionary of the Languages of India and High Asia* by W. W. Hunter; Dissertation, pp. 25–27. "Sanskrit literature refers to other sections of the Kol race under such names as Chol-as, Kul-indas, &c. . . . In the *Asiatic Society's Journal* the ancient name for India is stated to have been Kolaria, and turning to the modern map of India, we find indications of

Sir George Campbell appears thus to be rather diffident as to the propriety of his selecting the term Kolarian and his doubts are not without good cause. A perusal of the arguments of Colonel Wilford will confirm them. In the twentieth volume of the *Asiatic Journal of Bengal* was published "A comparative Essay on the Ancient Geography of India" by Colonel Wilford, in which we read on pp. 227 and 228 the following remarks: "The oldest name of "India, that we know of, is *Colar*, which prevailed till the "arrival of the followers of Brahmā, and is still preserved "by the numerous tribes of Aborigines, living among "woods, and mountains. These Aborigines are called in the

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the race in every province from Burmah to Malabar: in the Kols of Central India; Kolas of Katwar; the Kolis, inferior husbandmen and a landless clan of Gujarat; the Kolis, obscurely mentioned as helot cultivators on the Simla range; the Kolitas of Northern Bengal and Assam; the Kolami of Central India, classed with the Naikude, &c., in my vocabularies; the Kalars, a robber caste in the Tamil country; the Kalars of Tinnevelly: in the Kolis of Bombay; in the names of the Kolarun river in Southern India, of the Koel river, from the Chota Nagpore watershed, of the Culinga and Koladyn rivers, and of many other streams; in Kulna, a district in Bengal; Kulpac, in the Nizam's dominions; Kulalpur, in the Panjab; Kulan and Kola Fort, in the distant north-west; in Kulbunga, town and district, near the Bombay Presidency, within, I believe, the territory of the Nizam; and to be brief in such names as the following, scattered over the whole length and breadth of India,—names which the reader may identify in a moment by referring to Dr. Keith Johnston's index to his Map from the Royal Atlas. Kuldah, Kulkeri, Kulianpur in three different districts, Kullavakurti, Kullean, Kuller-kaher, Kulu district, Kullum, Kullung River, Kullunji, several Kullurs, Kulpani, Kulpi, Kulra, Kulsi, Kolachi, Kolapur town and state, the three Kolars, Kolaspur, Kolbarea, Koli, Kolikod (Calicut), Cola Bira, Colair, Colgong, Collum (Kayan-kulam), Colur, and Colombo in Ceylon. I would go further, and, if time permitted, could philologically prove the connection of the above with hundreds of other names and places in regular series."

I am afraid that something more than time would have been required by Sir William Hunter for proving the philological connection of the Kols with the Gaudian *Kolami*, with the Tamil *Kaḻḻar*, with *Kolikod* the modern Calicut or Kōḻi-kōḍu, with *Kulianpur* or Kalyāṇapura, not to mention many others of the above-quoted names. The Royal Atlas of Dr. Keith Johnston can hardly be regarded as an authority with respect to the spelling of Indian places.

"peninsula to this day, *Colāris* and *Colairs*, and in the "north of India *Coles*, *Coils* and *Coolies;* thus it seems, "that the radical name is *Cōla*. This appellation of "*Colar* was not unknown to the ancients; for the younger "Plutarch says, that a certain person called *Ganges*, was "the son of the *Indus* and of *Dio-Pithusa*, a *Calaurian* "damsel, who through grief, threw himself into the river "*Chliarus,* which after him was called Ganges; and *Chliarus* "is probably a mistake for *Calaurius*, or the Colarian "river. I believe, that *Dio-Pithus* is the name of the "father and *Sindhu* of the mother: for *Deva-Pithu*, or "*Deo-Pithu,* is worshipped to this day on the banks of the "*Sindhū*, a female deity. The etymology of *Cōlar* is pro-"bably out of our reach : but it is asserted by some that *Cola*, "*Coil,* or *Cail*, signify a woodlander, exactly like *Chael*, *Gāl*, "in Great Britain; and the etymological progress is the same. "In several dialects of the peninsula *Cādu*, is a forest, and "its derivative is *Cādil;* from which striking off the *d* "remains *Cail*." [21]

I come now to the passage in Plutarch's work "On Rivers," which has originated all these statements about India's ancient name *Colaria*. Plutarch gives in his work some legendary accounts of twenty-five rivers. Three among

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[21] The article to which Sir George Campbell refers when quoting vol. IX of the *Asiatic Researches* is the suggestive "Essay on the Magadha Kings," by Captain F. Wilford, where on p. 92 we read: "The offspring of *Turvasu*, so far from settling in the west, is declared, in the *Harivansa*, to have settled in the southern parts of *India;* and in the tenth generation, including their *Sire*, four brothers divided the *peninsula* among themselves. Their names were *Pandya*, *Cērala*, *Cōla*, and *Chōla :* and this division obtains, even to this day. *Cōla* lived in the northern parts of the *peninsula*, and his descendants are called *Coles*, and *Collers* to this day : and they conceive themselves, with much probability, to be the aborigines of *India*, to which they give the name of *Coller* or *Colara*. Hence, we read in *Plutarch*, that the *Ganges* was called formerly the Calaurian river, and the same author mentions a Calaurian, or Hindu, and a handsome damsel, callod *Diopithusa*, who was also a *Calaurian*, or native of India, or country bordering upon the *Calaurian* river."

these are Indian streams: the Hydaspes, Ganges and Indos.[22]

The Hydaspes is the first river described. Plutarch relates that a certain king Hydaspes had a daughter Chrysippe, whom Aphrodite out of spite caused to fall in love with her own father. She was for this offence crucified by the order of her father. But, these calamities so upset Hydaspes that he threw himself into the river Indos, which was henceforward called Hydaspes.

In ancient times there lived a youth called *Indos*, who had raped Damasalkida, a daughter of the king Oxyalkos, while she was celebrating the feast of Bakchos. The king, her father, pursued him, and when Indos saw all escape impossible, he plunged into the river *Mausolos* rather than expose himself to the king's vengeance. This river had been so called after *Mausolos*, a son of the Sun, but from that time it was named *Indos* which is a river in India in the country of the *Ichthyophages* or Fish-eaters.

The story of the Ganges resembles these two.[23] It is as follows:—"The Ganges is a river of India, called so for the following reason. The nymph *Kalauria* bore Indos a son of

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[22] See Plutarch Περὶ ποταμῶν or *de fluminibus*. The twenty-five rivers are the Hydaspes, Ismenos, Hebros, Ganges, Phasis, Arar, Paktolos, Lykormas, Maiandros, Marsyas, Strymon, Sagaris, Skamandros, Tanais, Thermodon, Nilos, Eurotas, Inachos, Alpheios, Euphrates, Kaikos, Acheloos, Araxes, Tigris, and Indos.

[23] See *Plutarchi Chaeronensis omnium quae extant operum* (*Tomi duo*), Gulielmo Xylandro interprete, Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1624. At the end of the second volume is printed: "Πλουταρχου περι πθταμων και ορων επωνυμιας και των εν αυτοις ευρισκομενων.—Plutarchi de Fluviorum et Montium nominibus, et de iis quae in illis inveniuntur, interprete *Philippo Jacobo Maussaco.*" There we read in vol. II, pp. 1151, 1152:

Γάγγης ποταμός ἐστι τῆς Ἰνδίας, τὴν προσηγορίαν λαβὼν δι' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην. Ἰνδῷ τὶς Καλαυρία νύμφη ἐγγέννησεν υἱὸν κάλλει περίβλεπτον, τὸ ὄνομα Γάγγην. Οὗτος καρηβαρήσας τῇ μητρὶ κατ' ἄγνοιαν συνεγγένετο τῃ Διοπιθούσῃ, ὁ δὲ μεθ' ἡμέρας παρὰ τῆς τροφοῦ μαθῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, διὰ λύπης ὑπερβολὴν ἑαυτὸν ἔῤῥιψεν εἰς ποταμὸν Χλιαρὸν καλούμενον, ὃς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Γάγγης μετωνομάσθη. Maussacus translates this passage as follows: "Ganges fluvius est Indiae, ita vocatus hac de causa: Ex Indo Calauria quaedam virgo genuit filium pulchritudine conspicuum nomine Gangem: qui somno vinoque sepultus cum matre Diopi-

conspicuous beauty, by name *Ganges*, who, when inebriated, had once in ignorance connection with his mother. But when he had learnt on a subsequent day the truth from his nurse, he threw himself through excess of remorse into the river *Chliaros*, which was called after him Ganges." The ancient edition of Plutarch, which was published by Xylander at Paris in 1624, contains in an Appendix at the end, the treatise *On Rivers*. It was edited, translated and annotated by Phil. Jacob. Maussacus. In its text occurs instead of the correct reading *δ'ἐπιούσῃ* the false expression *Διοπιθούσῃ* which Maussacus mistook for a name, though his predecessors the learned Natalis a Comitibus and Turnebus had already doubted the accuracy of the text, as Maussacus himself mentioned in a note which is quoted below. Colonel Wilford unfortunately accepted the wrong reading and built on it a new theory. According to Plutarch, so says the Colonel, *Diopithuse* was a Calaurian damsel, but Wilford himself further changes Diopithuse into a man *Dio-Pithus* (for Deva-Pithu or Deo-Pithu), and declares

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thuse concubuit per inscitiam, sed interdiu cum a nutrice rei veritatem didicisset, ob dolorem extremum seipsum coniecit in fluvium Chliarum, qui ab eo Gangis nomen assumpsit."

However, in the 5th volume of Πλουταρχου 'Αποσπασματα και Ψευδεπιγραφα edited by Fr. Dübner, Paris, 1855, and in the edition of *Plutarchi Libellus de fluviis*, rcc. et notis instr. Rud. Hercher, Lipsiae, 1857, we read: Γάγγης ποταμός ἐστι τῆς 'Ινδίας . . . Οὗτος καρηβαρήσας τῇ μητρὶ κατ' ἄγνοιαν συνεγγένετο. Τῇ δ'ἐπιούσῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν παρὰ τῆς τροφοῦ μαθὼν τὴν ἀλήθειαν . ἑαυτὸν ἔῤῥιψεν εἰς ποταμὸν Χλιαρόν . . .

We read already on p. 72 in the Appendix to the edition of Maussacus entitled: Plutarchi librorum Περὶ ποταμῶν Philippi Jac. Maussaci emendationes et notae: "Mirum est hoc nomen proprium Diopithusae nostros interpretes exercitos habuisse. Natalis a Comitibus sicco pede haec transivit, quae tamen fida interpretatione opus habebant. Magnus Turnebus tanta est usus circumlocutione in vero hoc nomine explicando, ut plane eum ab scopo aberasse nemo bonus negare audeat; *qui per ebrietatem* (inquit) *inscienter matrem, divorum quempiam esse existimantem, cognovit.* Ut concedamus Διοπιθούσῃ hic non esse nomen proprium tamen Graecis non convenit haec interpretatione Latina, vertendum enim esset simpliciter, *Jovem eum esse credentem*, sed hoc est nugari. Διοπιθούσῃ nomen verum est Diopithusae."

Colar as the oldest name of India we know of. That theory, however, must now be abandoned, and with the disappearance of *Diopithuse* from the pages of Plutarch, the whole edifice of conjecture so ingeniously raised on the supposed occurrence of this name, must fall to the ground; there being absolutely nothing to support the assumption that India was known in the earliest times as the Kolarian Empire.

Sir George Campbell supported Colonel Wilford by stating that India "seems to have been known to the ancients as Colara or Coolee Land and the people as Colaurians" and by eventually advocating the name Colee or Kolarian for the aboriginal tribes of India. I need not specially mention that the dictionary of Greek proper names, compiled by Dr. W. Pape, does not contain *Diopithuse* as a name, though it refers to the nymph Kalauria and the river Chliaros.[24]

I had here in Madras at my disposal only the antiquated edition of Xylander printed by Antonius Stephanus, in which the reading *Diopithuse* occurs. Though doubting its accuracy from the first, I was not prepared to emendate the text, for besides my own conviction and the note of Maussacus, I had no evidence to go upon. Later on, however, I consulted Dr. Pape's excellent Dictionary of Greek names and the fact that it makes no mention of Diopithuse confirmed my suspicions. To ascertain the truth, I eventually wrote to

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[24] The *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* von Dr. W. Pape gives *Kalauria* as the name of a nymph, *e.g.* on p. 235 (third edition) "Ganges,–[3]) S.-des Indos u.-der Kalauria, welcher sich in den Chliaros stürzte, wovon dieser den Namen Ganges erhielt, *Plut. flur.* 4, 1;" and on p. 596 under Kalauria: "[3] Nymphe, Gem. des Indos, M. des Ganges, *Plut. fluv.* 4, 1."

Kalauria or *Kalaureia* is the well-known island with the famous temple of Poseidon, which opened a safe asylum to all pursued. Demosthenes when hunted down by the Macedonians, poisoned himself in it. The island was called after *Kalauros*, a son of Poseidon. Kalauria belonged originally to Apollo who had exchanged it with Poseidon for Delos. Poseidon is therefore also called *Kalaureates*, Kalauria in contradistinction to Kalabria is sometimes explained as "land of peace" and Kalauros as "peaceful" (Frederic).

friends in Europe who kindly supplied me with the right reading δ'ἐπιούσῃ instead of Διοπιθούσῃ.

It may also be added that, according to Plutarch, all the rivers on which he comments have changed their original names in order to bear the one by which they were afterwards generally known. Plutarch refers occasionally to previous authors to verify his accounts, *e.g.*, to Kallisthenes, Kaimarōn, Kleitophōn, Aristoteles, and others, but even if most of the works he quotes had not been lost, it is doubtful whether he could have substantiated his statements. The stories about the Hydaspes and Indos are so un-Indian and so mythical that it is hardly necessary to try to explain the report concerning the Ganges. Even if the term *Kalauria* were an adjective derived from a proper name, and Chliaros were a mistake for Kalaurios, there is nothing to prove that *Kalauria* should be identical with Indian, not to speak of the boldness of deriving from it *Colar* or *Colara* as a term designating India in ancient times; a term and a signification which occur nowhere in the whole classical literature. I am quite convinced that *Kalauria* has nothing to do with the Kols of Chota-Nagpore, though I am not prepared to venture a decided conjecture as to the origin of the word Kalauria used by Plutarch.[25]

It is perhaps a mere accident that the *Yamunā* which joins the Gaṅgā or Ganges at Prayāga (Pratiṣṭhāna, the modern Allahabad) is called Kālindī, the daughter of *Kalinda*, for she springs from the mountain Kalinda, or is accord-

[25] Herodotos mentions III, 38 and 97, the Indian *Kalatiai* or *Kalantiai* who ate their parents. The Brahman *Kalanos* (Kalyāṇa) who accompanied Alexander the Great is well known for burning himself alive. I only mention these names as they resemble somewhat *Kalauria*. I need hardly add that the Greek word κάλαρις, which is commonly pronounced κόλαρις, a kind of screech-owl, has nothing in common with this subject.

To declare *Colara* as a name of India, though such never existed, and to derive it from the nymph Kalauria on the authority of the younger Plutarch's mythical account of the river Ganges appears like a pun, or like what a Berliner would call a *Kalauer*.

ing to others a daughter of the Sun-god Kalinda who is in consequence known as *Kālindīsū*, the father of Yamunā, while the god *Yama* is called *Kālindīsōdara*, the brother of Yamunā. I mention this circumstance as Plutarch gives to Indos the name of Mausolos after Mausolos, the son of the Sun.

Another peculiar coincidence is that the *Kālī* or Black Gaṅgā, which is also known as *Mandākinī*, has in its upper course some famous warm springs and that *Chliaros* in Greek means lukewarm. A second Mandākinī rises on the *Kālañjara* mountain, on whose top the lake of the gods is situated.

It is somewhat astonishing that Colonel Wilford without giving any reasons explained Chliaros as a mistake for *Calaurius*. He could as well have conjectured *Chliara* for Kalauria. All editions, however, of Plutarch, the modern emendated as well as the old antiquated, read Kalauria and Chliaros as proper-names.[26]

The ancient inhabitants of the country round Mathura in North India are also called Kalārs, but this name has not yet been explained and has presumably no connection with the *Kalauria nymphe* of Plutarch.

Modern writers have often identified the Kolis and the Kolarees or Colleries of South India with the Kols. It is a peculiar circumstance that, except by the *Hos* or Larka-Kols, the term Kol is not used by the so-called Kolarians, who include the Mundas, Santals, Korwas, Juangs, and a few other tribes.[27] The Kolis are, according to my opinion, Gaudians, and must be distinguished from those races now

[26] For *Kālindī* occurs also *Kalindī*, a wrong formation. Balarāma is also called *Kālindī-Karṣaṇa*, or *Kālindī-bhēdana* for diverting the Yamunā by his ploughshare into a new bed in the Vṛndāvana-forest. *Mandākinī* is also the name of the Gaṅgā of the heavens. About this river see Chr. Lassen's *Indische Alterth.*, vol. I, pp. 64-66, where this question is fully discussed.

[27] See Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 178: "The Hos are the only branch of the Kols that has preserved a national appellation." *Larka* means fighter. About the *Kolarians* consult Mr. J. F. Hewitt's "Notes on the early History of Northern India," in the *Journal of the R. A. Society*, vol. XX, pp. 321-363.

generally described as Kols. Besides, our knowledge of this people is still very limited, and it would be venturesome to make decided statements as to their origin. Though differing from the Gauda-Dravidians in language, which must be regarded as a very important test, they nevertheless intermarry occasionally with them, a circumstance which on the other hand tends to indicate some intimate connection between them.

The word *Kūli* is a common Gauda-Dravidian term which signifies *hire*, and is eventually also applied to the person who is hired. A hireling or servant is thus called a *Kūli*. The name Kol is a totally distinct word. The now common term Kūli started from the Eastern coast of India, where the principal English factories such as Madras were situated, and whence in course of time the English commenced to lay the foundation of their Indian Empire in the days of Clive.[28]

The Kolarees or Colleries represent the well-known Kaḷḷas, the dreaded thief tribe, who are mostly dependents of

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[28] Compare Wilson's Glossary, p. 301: "Kūli, Coolee, (Tam. கூலி, Mal. ഉലി., Kan. ಕೂಲಿ, Tel. కూలి, Beng. कूली, Hind. قلی), Daily hire or wages: a day labourer, a *Cooly*: (the word is originally Tamil, whence it spread into the other languages: in Upper India it bears only its second and apparently subsidiary meaning: it appears as *Culialu*, as the term for hired labourers, in Tulava—Buchanan.)" Kūliyāḷu is one of the Kanarese terms for hireling like the Telugu *Kūligāḍu*.

In Colonel Yule's and Dr. Burnell's *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases*, p. 192, an attempt is made to derive the term *Kūli* from *Koli*, but it is notwithstanding admitted: "Though this explanation of the general use of the term *Cooly* (from *Koli*) is the most probable, the matter is perplexed by other facts which it is difficult to trace to the same origin. Thus in S. India, there is a Tamil word *kūli* in common use, signifying 'hire' or 'wages,' which Wilson indeed regards as the true origin of *Cooly*. Also in both Oriental and Osmanli Turkish *Kol* is a word for a slave, whilst in the latter also *Kūleh* means 'a male slave, a bondsman' (*Redhouse*). *Khol* is in Tibetan also a word for servant or slave (Note from A. Schiefner). The familiar use of *Cooly* has extended to the Straits Settlements, Java and China, as well as to all tropical and sub-tropical colonies, whether English or foreign."

the Rāja of Pudukōṭa. A single individual of this clan is called a *Kaḻḻan*, of which word *Kaḻḻar* is the plural.[29]

Enough has been already adduced to prove that the *Kalauria nymphe* of Plutarch does not refer to an ancient name of India, that the so-called *Colaria* is a purely imaginary appellation, based in part on a badly pronounced and distorted plural formation of the name of the Kaḻḻar, or on *Kolarees*, and that, though the term Kolarian may be still applied to the Kol race, it must be clearly understood that all the wild philological vagaries concerning the origin and antiquity of this expression ought to be abandoned. Yet, the history of the fictitious term *Colaria* provides us on the other hand with an instructive example how by a concatenation of conjectures and conclusions a new theory can be successfully started and find acceptance among scholars of reputation. It has thus now become a fashion to ascribe all ancient monuments with which the Kolis, Kōlas and other kindred tribes can be connected with the so-called Kolarians, whose original home and early history are shrouded in mysterious darkness, who, if we can trust reliable information, do not even use the term *Kol* as a tribal name, and who, so far as it is known, do not claim as their own the scattered remains in Northern India, which modern writers are so fond of ascribing to them.

I now proceed to discuss in detail the principal tribes whom I regard as representatives of the Gaudian race. The linguistic and ethnological connection of these clans has in most instances been generally admitted by competent scholars, yet, their close relationship has, so far as I am aware, not hitherto been so distinctly stated.

I shall begin with the Kolis, Kōlas, and tribes kindred, pass on to the Gonds and their clansmen, then notice the

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[29] It is doubtful whether *Kaḻḻan* meant originally a thief, or simply a man of the *Kaḻḻan* tribe who, excelling in thieving accomplishments, imparted to his tribal name the meaning of thief. I recur to this subject on pp. 233-36.

Koḍagas, Koṛagas, afterwards consider the position of the Todas and Kōtas, and end with a survey of the Kuṛubas or Kuṛumbas in their various ramifications.

CHAPTER VIII.

On the Kolis (Kulis), Kōlas.

The Kolis and Kōlas have already been mentioned in the previous chapter. Sanskrit works contain their name in connection generally with Pāṇḍya, Kērala and Cōla, the sons of Akrīḍa and descendants of Dusyanta. The term *Kōli* occurs in Kōlisarpāḥ, instead of which the manuscript used by M. Langlois contained probably *Kōlāḥ Sarpāḥ* or *Kōlasarpāḥ*, as he translates the passage by : " les Colas, les Sarpas." The Kōlis appear likewise in Sanskrit inscriptions. The name of the Kōlas can be traced in that of the country *Kōlañca*, which has, according to the Śabdaratnāvali, Kānyakubja as its capital, or which, according to Horace Hayman Wilson, is identical with Kaliṅga.

The word Kōla forms also part of Sanskrit names of various peoples, plants, countries and mountains, as of Kōlagiri, Kōllagiri, Kōlāhala, Kōllaka and Kōlvagiri, &c. We meet it even in South-Indian names of places, *e.g.*, in Kōlam, Kōlanāḍu, Kōlattanāḍu and others.

I regard the name *Cōla* or *Cōḍa* (in Telugu and Kanarese *Cōḻa*, and in Tamil and Malayālam *Cōḻa*) as a modification of the word *Kōla*. It is a remarkable historical fact that the Cōlas and Pāṇḍyas were as a rule rival kings who fought continually against each other. With the various formations of the terms Kōla, Cōla, and Cōḍa may be compared those of Kēra, Cēra and Cēḍa. The expressions Cēra and Koṅgu are occasionally used identically.

The first syllable *ko* in Kōla and Koli indicates the mountain home, while the second syllable *la* or *li* intimates

the particular tribal distinction. The interchange between *l* and *r* produces *Kori* (Kohri) as a variation of Koli.[30]

The Kolis and Kōlas, as has already been pointed out, should be distinguished from the so-called Kolarian Kols. In consequence of the near relation of the Kolis to the Bhīls and Gonds, hardly any doubt can be entertained about their belonging to the Gaudian branch of the Gauda-Dravidians. The establishment of this ancient kinship is an important fact. It severs the connection between the Kolis

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[30] *Kōlañca* means originally a country adjoining *Kōla*. The late Mr. C. P. Brown explained *Kōladēśamu*, కోలదేశము, as the long country, which interpretation is obviously erroneous when applied to the Sanskrit word ***Kōla***.

Kōlagiri is a mountain in Southern India. The commentator Mallinātha is surnamed Kōlagiri. The *Sabhāparva* says in ślōka 1171: "Kṛtsnam Kōlagirim caiva Surabhīpattanam tathā." The Kōllagiri occurs in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV, 13:

Karṇāṭa-Mahāṭavi-Citrakūṭa-Nāsikya-Kōllagiri-Cōlāḥ
Krauñcadvīpa-Jaṭādhara-Kāvēryō-Riṣyamūkaśca.

The Kaullagirēyas fought according to the Aśvamēdha with Arjuna:

Arcitaḥ prayayau bhūmau dakṣiṇam salilārṇavam
Tatrāpi Drāviḍair Āndhrair Audrair Māhiṣakair api.
Tathā Kaullagirēyaiśca yuddham āsīt Kirītinaḥ.

About *Kōlāhala* compare General Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. VIII, pp. 123, 125.

Compare what is said about the town *Kollagira* in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 23, note 22: "it appears that Kollagira was another name of Kollāpura or Kōlhāpur." See *ibidem*, vol. III, pp. 209, 210 in the article "The Geography of Ibn Batuta's Indian Travels," by Col. H. Yule: "The Koïl prince must be the *Kola-tiri* or Cherakal Rāja, whose kingdom was called *Kola-nāda*." About *Kolatta-nāḍu*, the district about Tellicherry, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII, pp. 115, 146. Compare also Dr. Gundert's *Malayalam and English Dictionary*, p. 318, under *Kōlam*: "4. North Malabar, subject to Kōlattiri or Kōlaswarūpam."

About the Cēra or Koṅgu kings confer among others the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, pp. 155, 271; vol. V, pp. 133-140; vol. VI, pp. 99-103.

About the change of the *l* into *r* in words like *Koli* compare General Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XI, p. 101: "I paid a visit to the old site of *Koron*, or *Korāwa-dih*, because the people agreed in stating that the old name of the place was *Kolpur*, which I thought might perhaps be connected with the old city of *Koli*, the birth-place of Māyādevi. But . . the position of *Korondih* . . . is much too distant to be identified with that of *Koli*." Compare also the late Mr. John A. C. Boswell's *Manual of the Nellore District*, p. 157: "The Yerukalas in this district state that their tribe name in their own language is *Kurru*, also *Kola*."

and Kols, which is still occasionally asserted to exist and to which I have repeatedly alluded.

The Kolis appear originally as mountaineers, but afterwards descending to the plains, some settled down as agriculturists, while many others selecting the seashore became fishermen and sailors.[31]

The Koli mountaineers were not long ago the guardians of the hill-passes, especially of those in the Ajanta range and in the Western Ghats. Their ancient position as lords of the mountains is to this day certified by the fact that the

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[31] See C. Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I, p. 137 (or 108): "*Bhilla* sitzen hier noch in dem Gränzgebirge nach Mâlva, Râjputâna und südlicher; ein grosser Theil der Bevölkerung besteht aus einem andern ursprünglich ähnlichen Volke, den Kuli (*Kôla*), welches aber Brahmanische Sitten dem grössern Theile nach angenommen hat." Compare further Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. II, pp. 307–316.

Sir George Campbell remarks in his *Ethnology of India* about the Koolees on pp. 42–45 as follows: "I find, however, that the opinion of those qualified to judge seems to tend to the belief that there is no essential difference between the two tribes (the Koolees and Bheels). Forbes in his Ras Mala says. 'Koolees or Bheels, for though the former would resent the classification, the distinctions between them need not be here noticed.' Captain Probyn says: 'I think there is no actual difference between Koolees and Bheels. Their religion is the same.' Mr. Ashburner: 'There is no real difference between Bheels and Koolees; their habits, physiognomy and mode of life are the same, modified by local circumstances.' And the Rev. Mr. Dunlop Moore says: 'Koolees frequently marry Bheel wives.' Other authorities, however, say that they do not intermarry. They both seem to claim a northern and not a southern origin, pointing to the hills of Rajpootana and the north of Goozerat. The Bheels say that they were originally called Kaiyos; Sir John Malcolm says that they are related to the Meenas of Rajpootana, and once ruled in the Jeypore country. Forbes again tells us that the Koolees were originally called Mairs, while in Rajpootana, Col. Tod speaks of Mairs or Meenas as one race . . . Though probably in the main of the same class and similar origin, the Koolees and Bheels are now quite distinct tribes, and there is this considerable difference that the Koolees have come much more into contact with Aryan blood civilization . . . The Koolees are the Aborigines of Goozerat (where they now live in considerable number), and of the hills adjoining that Province. The hills east of Goozerat are called 'Kolwan' and seem to be the property of Koolee tribes . . . The Bheels are the proper possessors of the hills farther in the interior and east of the Koolees . . . The Koolees seem to be scattered down the Coast country nearly as far as Goa, and north again into the 'Thurr' and the neighbourhood of Scinde. While the wilder Koolees of the hills are like the Bheels,

famous sanctuary at Mahābalēśvara is under the hereditary wardenship of Kolis.

Many shrines throughout India are associated with the lowest classes of the population, as we have seen, when speaking of the temples at Mēlkōṭa, Puri and Trevandrum. The sanctuary at Mahābalēśvara over a spring which is supposed to be the source of the Krishṇa, though said to have been founded by a Sattara Brahman, named Anagada, is under the hereditary superintendence of a Koli family, and the chief official in charge is a Koli. Such a Koli is called Gaṅgāputra, and whatever offerings a worshipper makes after bathing form the perquisite of the Kolis and are taken by them. "At the temple of Mahābalēśvara also," thus writes the Hon. Viśvanāth Nārāyan Mandlick, "the Kolis "hold a hereditary position, and the Guravas, who worship "the *Linga* in that temple, appear more closely allied to the "hill tribes than to the inhabitants of the plains; they (*i.e.*, "the *Guravas*) have, however, no connection with the shrine "of the Krishṇá, where the Kolis alone are the principal

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the mass of more civilised Koolees are said to be not only fairer and more Caucasian in feature, but also more sly and cunning and less truthful . . The wilder tribes of the race are still predatory, and Forbes mentions the Koolees as by far the most numerous of the arm-bearing castes who in former days, living in the hills between Goozerat and Rajpootana, disturbed the country. He describes them as of diminutive stature, with eyes which bore an expression of liveliness and cunning, clothes few, arms bows and arrows, habits swift and active, bold in assault, but rapid in flying to the jungles, independent in spirit, robbers, averse to industry, addicted to drunkenness, and quarrelsome when intoxicated; formidable in anarchy, but incapable of uniting among themselves. This description seems exceedingly well to apply to the wild Bheels of modern days, whom indeed Forbes classes with the Koolees . . . Lassen in his map places Koolees (Kolas he calls them) in the centre of Kattywar . . . The Kolees of the Simla hills and Domes of Kumaon are merely inferior castes living among the general population."

Compare the *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, Bombay 1884, p. 280: "The Kolis belong to the aborigines, and are of low but respectable caste. They are divided into the Kolis of the hilly countries, and the Kolis of the plains. They are also arranged in separate tribes, and were formerly very troublesome. Several tribes of Kolis guarded the passes of the Ajanta range under their own Náiks, while others attached themselves to the Bhils; but the majority have long settled down to peaceful callings, and the land-holding Kolis

"officers in charge."[32] The origin of the famous Mahābalēśvara temple is ascribed to the Paulastya Rāvaṇa. He compelled Śiva, so runs the tradition, by his severe penance on the mountain Kailāsa, to surrender to him his *Prāṇa Liṅga*. The terrified gods tried every means to regain it, but their attempts were fruitless. At last Viṣṇu raised his *Cakra* to prevent the sun-rays from descending to the earth, and Rāvaṇa, who was then at Gōkarṇa, believing that the sun was setting prepared to perform his Sandhyāvandanam. But the *Prāṇa Liṅga*, which he carried in his hand, prevented him from performing properly his worship. He, therefore, requested *Gaṇapati* to take temporary charge of the Liṅga. The god assented, but pretending that the Liṅga was too heavy placed it on the ground. Once there, it remained fixed in spite of all the attempts of the Rākṣasa to remove it. When trying for the fifth time he cried as his strength was failing: "*O Mahābala*," O great power! which expression is said to have given the name to the place.[33]

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deny all affinity with those of the hills. In the village establishment, the Koli is most generally associated with the occupation of a water-carrier, and the Kunbi drinks water from his hands. He is known by his *chumli*, or twisted cloth which he wears on his head in order to rest the waterpot; but he is often a good farmer, or is engaged as a musician, handicraftsman, weaver, palanquin bearer, fisher, labourer . . . They use meat, drink spirits, bury their dead, worship Khandobá, Bairobá, and Bhaváni, and employ Bráhmans for religious ceremonies, but have also priests of their own." See *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H. H. the Nizam's Dominions*, compiled by Syed Hossain Bilgrami, B.A., and C. Willmott, Bombay, 1883, vol. I, p. 310: "At one time they (the Kolis) acted as guards in the hill passes on the northern frontier and in the Ajanta hills; there is a tribe of Kolis who had charge of the Ghaut passes." The Kambali Kuṟumbas make and wear chamlis (kambalis) in the same manner; see p. 205, n. 107.

I agree with Sir George Campbell so far as their relationship with the Bhils is concerned, the latter I have proved to be Dravidians, see Part I, pp. 47, 107-113.

[32] See "The Shrine of the River Krishnā at the Village of Mahábalésvara," by Ráo Sáheb Vishvanáth Náráyan Mandlick in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. IX, pp. 250-261.

[33] See *ibidem*, pp. 257, 258. Compare also *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. VIII, pp. 143, 144, about Rāvaṇa's connection with the liṅga of "Mahadeo Rāvaṇeśvara."

The connection of the ancient hill tribes with many celebrated Indian shrines is also admitted by the Hon. Viśvanāth Nārāyan Mandlick. "The above tradition of Gokarṇa," he says, " points out to the origin of these places of Liṅga worship " by the influence of, if not amongst, the wild tribes of the " mountains of whom Rāvaṇa is a fair representative. The " actual position of the Kolis at the temples of the Krishṇā " and also at Mahābaleśvara, appears to confirm the above " conclusion. The serpent is connected with both these " temples, and from the *Liṅga* temples he seems to be quite " inseparable. In the latter he is represented as being coiled " round the *Liṅga*, while in the temple of the Krishṇā, a living " one is supposed to be guarding its sources." [34]

The most accurate description of the Kolis has been written by Captain A. Macintosh, to whose account we owe, in fact, the greater part of our information about these people. Yet, he is compelled to admit: " We cannot " expect to glean much authentic information of an historical " description from an ignorant and unlettered people like the " Kolis. The few traditions they possess relative to their first " settlement in their present locations and of subsequent

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Read also Dr. Fr. Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, second edition, vol. II, p. 316. " *Gaukarna*, or the cow's horn (?), is a place of great note among the Brahmans, owing to a celebrated image of *Siva* called *Mahabaleswara*. The image is said to have been brought from the mountain *Coila* by *Ravana*, king of *Lanca*. He wished to carry it to his capital; but having put it down here, the idol became fixed in the place, where it stands to this day."

[34] The Kanara people regard *Gōkarṇa* as holier than Benares; for they say:

Gōkarṇam ca mahākāśī viśvanātho mahābalaḥ
Kōtitīrtham ca Gaṅgāyāḥ sāmudram adhikam phalam ; "

according to the *Journal of the Bombay Royal Asiatic*, vol. IX, p. 258. Compare in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, pp. 247, 248, Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha's account of the legend concerning the liṅga of *Wālukeśvara*, the present Malabar Hill, with which liṅga the Kolis seem also to be connected: "The Kolīs, who, as will be shown hereafter, were the original inhabitants of Bombay, pay special devotion to this *liṅga* . . . . (their) principal quarter in the whole Koṅkan, I suppose, is Kūlābā."

"events until within the last century appear to be involved in "much obscurity and confusion." The late Mr. Alexander Kinloch Forbes mentions in his *Rās Mālā* the legendary descent of the Kolis from Yuvanāśva, the father of Māndhātṛ.[35]

Captain Macintosh repeatedly mentions in his *Account* the great veneration in which the Kolis hold the well-known

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[35] See "An Account of the Tribe of the Mhadeo Kolies," by Captain A. Macintosh, in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. V., pp. 71–112, 238–279; compare also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, p. 154; vol. III, pp. 76, 77, 126, 127, 186–196, 222, 224, 227, 228, 248; vol. V, p. 8, and Sir G. Campbell's *Ethnology of India* in the Appendix to vol. XXXV, of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, pp. 46, 53, 123, 125.

In the *Rās Mālā*, London, 1878, pp. 78-79, we read: "A similar fabulous descent is given to the Koolees from Youwanāshwa, the father of Māndhāta Raja. Their ancestor, Koolee, was brought up by a sage in the forest, and always led a jungle life, whence it happened, as the bard says, that his descendants, though in the towns they are of little importance, are *lions in the jungle*. The Koolees lived for a long time on the sea-shore, in the neighbourhood of the Indus, but they were removed to the country about the Null by the goddess Hinglāz, and brought with them the earth-nut called 'beerd,' which even in famine does not fail. They were called at this time Mairs, as well as Koolees, and Sonung Mair was their leader. He left twelve sons, each of whom became the head of a clan . . . In these times, says the bard, there was not so great a population in Goozerat, but there was much forest, and the Bheels and Koolees lived in security. They were doubtless then, as now, hereditary and professional plunderers, 'soldiers of the night,' as they describe themselves. Raja Kurun Solunkee is the first ruler of Goozerat on record who devoted his attention to putting a curb upon these wild tribes."

Captain Macintosh derived the term *Kūli* from the Koli tribe. He writes in a note on p.71: "On a former occasion, I ventured to derive the term *Cooly*, applied by us to porters, labourers or persons who work for hire, in the following manner—as the fishermen, boatmen, and many of the common labourers, at Bombay, and along the coast, are Kolies, the term *Cooly* may have originated among the English at Bombay. A passenger coming ashore, when a ship arrived from Europe, might have wished to give a box or package in charge to a native (probably a person of rank or caste); he would say, or a servant in attendance might say, that he would fetch a Koly, or a certain number of Kolies, to take 'master's baggage' to the shore. Thus the term would have become familiar, and, in the course of time, would be indiscriminately applied to all porters or labourers, and soon have spread among the few English settled in India in those days."

In the above-mentioned *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases* is on p. 192 the expression *Cooly* also connected with the Kolis: "The origin of the word appears to have been a *nomen gentile*, the name (*Kolī*) of a race or caste in Western India, who have long performed such offices as have been mentioned . . According to Dr. H. V. Carter, the *Kolīs*

Khaṇḍōbā, whom I consider as a national deity of the Gaudian Khands.[36]

The Kolis have among them a tradition, according to which they are the descendants of the famous Vālmīki, the poet of the Rāmāyaṇa. It may be that the similarity of the profession embraced by Vālmīki—previously to his becoming a poet—and by the Kolis, has something to do with this belief. Both are celebrated as robbers.[37]

According to the last census report, the Kolis number 2,488,372 souls: 1,669,302 live in Bombay, 429,688 in Baroda, 213,966 in Hyderabad, and 123,171 in the Punjab, &c.[38]

The *Kohlis* in Bhandāra and Chanda, who are agriculturists, have a distinct Gond type, and have retained many Gond customs.[39]

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proper are a true hill-people whose especial locality lies in the Western Ghâts, and in the northern extension of that range, between 18° and 24° N. latitude." I have referred on p. 107, n. 28, to another passage of this article in the *Glossary*.

I have already on p. 107 declared myself against this explanation. Though it is a matter of minor importance, I may observe as an additional proof that the tribal name is always pronounced *Koli*, and not *Kūli*.

[36] See *ibidem*, p. 106: "The Kolies pay their adorations to all the Hindoo deities, but their chief object of worship is Khundy-row, commonly called Khundobah."

[37] See *ibidem*, p. 82: "One of the descendants of Neeshad and a female shoodur, were the parents of the Poolkuss; and a male of the Neeshad lineage and a female of the Poolkuss family, wore the parents of the Koly. He was to subsist, by killing whatever animals he encountered in the jungles and forests. It may further be stated, that the Kolies say that they are the descendants of Valmik, the distinguished author of the Ramayan, who, although of Brahman parentage, and born at Veer Walla, twenty-four miles south-east of Poona, it is said, followed the life of a Koly." About the Kooleos or Bheels see Sir G. Campbell's *Ethnology of India*, p. 46.

[38] According to the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 233, the late Rev. Dr. John Wilson derived the name of the Kolis from the Sanskrit word *kula*, a clan. I need not dilate on the groundlessness of this etymology. Compare p. 109.

[39] See Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. II, p. 109: "They have a remarkable faculty for selecting the best sites for irrigation reservoirs; and to possess a large tank is their highest ambition. On the lands watered by these tanks they cultivate sugar-cane and rice."

I believe that the *Koris* (Kohris) are of the same extraction as the Kolis. The former are said to have emigrated from Benares, in the train of a Bhonsla prince of the Chandah branch.[40] I am also inclined to connect the *Koiris* of Bengal with both these tribes.[41]

Whether there exists any connection between the Kolis and the Gaulis is doubtful. As was the case with *Gauḍa*, so also is the term *Gauli* differently interpreted. Some derive the name *Gauli* from the Sanskrit word *go*, cow, and explain *Gauli* to signify cowherd, others connect it with *Koli*. It is even possible that both derivations are right, and that the term *Gauli* represents originally two different, but equal-sounding words; one being derived from *Koli* and the other from *gō*. In the first case it has an ethnological and in the other a professional meaning. To those Gaulis who are cowmen both terms are

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[40] See *ibidem*, pp. 107, 108: "They produce sugar-cane in large quantities, the production of which is chiefly in their hands. The tribe has distinguished itself for its great enterprise and energy in the excavation of noble tanks and in the formation of numerous embankments." According to the census of 1881, the Koris amount to 946,851, 843,422 of whom are found in the North-Western Provinces, 48,826 in the Central Provinces, and 43,565 in Bengal. Compare Mr. Charles Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, pp. 61, 137, 181, 194 and 438 on the Koris (Kohris).

[41] Compare Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of India*, pp. 320, 321: "In some districts the Koiris appear to be more numerous than the Kūrmis. The distinction between them is, that the former are generally market gardeners as well as agriculturists. Buchanan estimated that there were 30,000 families of Koiris in the Shāhābād District, and 45,000 families in Bihār. . . . . A learned pandit informs me that the derivation of the name is *ku*, earth, and *ari*, enemy. They are so called from their constant attacks on the soil. Koiris, men and women, are always troubling it. . . Every three years they make offerings on a hill known as the Marang Būru of the Kols, the god that is invoked by the aborigines, especially when rain does not fall in due season." See also Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. I, pp. 325, 326: "These (the Koerīs) and the Kumbhis are the great agricultural classes of these provinces. . . The Koerīs and Kumbhis are agriculturists by profession. . . The Koerīs are the principal growers of poppy, and producers of opium, both in Benares and Behar. . . The Koerīs are numerous in the district of Jhānsī, where they pursue the occupation of weaving. Their tradition is, that they came from Benares about seven hundred years ago." The census report of 1881 mentions 3,067 Koeris in Assam and 1,204,884 Koeris in Bengal. Rev. Sir G. Campbell's *Ethnology of India*, p. 107.

applicable. The Mahadeo Kolis assert that their ancestors subdued the Gaulis, and to these are also ascribed most of the earlier graves. The Gauli chiefs, according to tradition, ruled in the Central Provinces long before the Gond Rājas. I believe that future enquiry will prove that the Gauli Rājas were not Aryans, but that they, like other tribes similarly named, belonged to the Gaudian race.[42]

I must not omit to mention here the ancient tribes of the *Kulinda, Kulūta,* (Kōlūta, Kōlūka) and *Kaulūta* (Kaulubha), who inhabited the high mountain ranges of the Himālaya in North India. Their names occur in one form or other in the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Mudrārākṣasa and elsewhere in Sanskrit literature, while Ptolemy's *Κυλινδρινή* (Kylindrinē, VII. 1, 42) coincides in position with the country which some of these tribes formerly

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[42] Refer to pp. 90 and 92, n. 12, where the *Gaulas* are mentioned.

See Mr. Charles Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces,* p. 301: "Among the people (of Nāgpur) tradition, widespread though vague, is not wanting, pointing to a time far anterior to the Gonds, when throughout Deogarh Gaulī chiefs held sway. The exploits and renown of these ancient chiefs are often referred to in the songs of the villagers. There are forts too, and tanks and temples, or remnants of such structures, evidently the handiwork of races preceding the Gonds... 'It was a Gaulī, not a Gond king so our father told us,' this is the common answer to all questions respecting such relics." The same legend is told about the fortifications of Rāmtek, *ibidem,* p. 428. Compare in the *Indian Antiquary,* vol. I, pp. 204, 205, Mr. W. F. Sinclair's article on the "Gauli Raj" in Khandesh and the Central Provinces: "I think, therefore, that the most probable explanation of the *Gauli Rāj* is this,—that Gauli was the surname, or nickname, of a family of princes (and not of a nation) of Aryan race who established themselves in the valleys of the Tapti and Narmadā during the great migration southward which ended in the colonization of the Dekhan by the Aryan Marathas." Mr. Sinclair's remarks were criticized by Mr. W. Ramsay on p. 258; notice also Mr. Sinclair's query: "Hemāḍ Pant and the Gauli Rajas" in the *Indian Antiquary,* vol. VI, pp. 277, 278.

Captain A. Macintosh remarks in his "Account of the Mhadeo Kolies" in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science,* vol. V (1837), pp. 251-252: "There is a popular tradition among the people in this part of the country, that the Gursees were the original inhabitants of the Dukhan, and that they were displaced from the hilly tracts of the country by the race of Goullies or cowherds. These Goullies, it is said, subsequently rebelled against their lawful prince, who detached an army that continued unceasing in their exer-

occupied. The similarity of their name with that of the Kolis and of the Kulu district is therefore not accidental.[43]

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE KŌIS, KONDS, KANDS, GONDS, &c.

Much as the several tribes, whose names head this chapter, differ from one another in their manners, dialects and appearance, still there exists such a general resemblance between them, that, as has been pointed out by one of the greatest geographers of our century, the late *Karl Ritter*, all these various races, however considerable may be the distances at which they live apart from one another, must be

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tions until they exterminated the entire race of Goullies . . It is a common practice with such of the inhabitants of the plains as bury their dead, as well as the hill tribes to erect thurgahs (tombs commonly of a single stone), near the graves of their parents. In the vicinity of some of the Koly villages and near the site of deserted ones, several of these thurgahs are occasionally to be seen, especially near the source of the Bhaum river. The people say they belonged to Gursees and Goullies of former times. The stones with many figures in relief roughly carved upon them, and one of these holding a drum in his hand, and in the act of beating time on it, are considered to have belonged to the Gursees who are musicians by profession. The other thurgahs with a Saloonka (one of the emblems of Mhadeo) and a band of women forming a circle round it, with large pots on their heads, are said to be Goully monuments. This may be reckoned partly confirmatory of the tradition."

Consult about the Gaulis also the *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, pp. 136, 226, 278, 279.

[43] About references concerning *Kulinda*, *Kulūta*, *Kōlūka*, *Kōlūta* and *Kaulūta* consult Böthlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*. About *Kaulubha* see Lassen's *Indische Altherthumskunde*, vol. I, p. 57 (p. 75 second edition), and vol. II, pp. 206, 207. Lassen desires to substitute for *Kaulūta* in Mudrārākṣasa *Kaulūbha* especially on the authority of Plinius who in his *Historia Naturalis*, lib. VI, cap. 22, mentions that: "Ultra (Gangem) siti sunt Modubae, Molindac. . . . *Colubae*, Orxulae, etc." In vol. I, p. 547 (661), Lassen speaks of the Kulindas: "Die *Kulinda* wohnten nach dem Epos im höchsten Himālaya und zwar ostwärts bis zu den Ganges-Quellen."

Ptolemy assigns the sources of the Vipāśā, Śatadru, Yamunā and Gaṅgā to the country *Kylindrine*: "Ὑπὸ δὲ τὰς Βιβάσιος καὶ τοῦ Ζαράδρου καὶ τοῦ Διαμοῦνα καὶ τοῦ Γάγγου ἡ Κυλινδρινή." The inhabitants of this district were the *Kulindas*. About Kylindrine compare also Sir A. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 136–138, where it is identified with Jālandhara, whose "antiquity is undoubted, as it is mentioned by Ptolemy as

regarded as representatives of one and the same nation. They are still in occupation of nearly the whole area of that portion of the Indian continent which stretches from Khandesh on the west to Ganjam on the east.

Kōi, Kui (contracted into Ku), Gōdu, Gauḍa, Gōndu, Goandu, Gānd, Koand, Kond (Kondh, Khond) or Kand (Khand) are all derivatives, as has already been shown, from the root *Ko* or *Ku*, mountain, so that their very name indicates a mountaineer. I have previously alluded to the peculiarity that both Linguals and Dentals are used in the formation of the derivatives of *Ko*. We need not,

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Kulindrine or *Ktulindrine*, which should probably be corrected to *Sulindrine*, as the K and Σ are frequently interchanged in Greek manuscripts."

Read also in H. H. Wilson's *Vishnu-purāṇa* edited by F. Hall the notes on the Kulūtas (Kolūkas), vol. II, p. 174, and Kulindas, p. 180. According to H. H. Wilson the Kulindas were mountaineers, see Fr. Johnson's Selections from the Mahābhārata, p. 65).

Varāhamihira mentions the *Kulūtas* in his Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Chapter XIV. sl. 22 and 29:

Diśi paścimōttarasyām Māṇḍavya-Tukhāra-Tālahala-Madrāḥ,
Aśmaka-*Kulūta*-Lahaḍa-Strīrājya-Nṛsiṁha-Vanakhasthāḥ. 22.
Aiśānyām Mērukanaṣṭarājya-Paśupāla-Kīra-Kāśmīrāḥ.
Abhisāra-Darada-Taṅgaṇa-*Kulūta*-Sairindha-Vanarāṣṭrāḥ. 29.

Sir Alexander Cunningham considers the question of these hill tribes at length in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XIV, pp. 125–135, 137–139: "The origin of the Kunets, who form the bulk of the population in the valleys of the Biās, the Satlej and the Tons Rivers, has long engaged my attention; and I believe that I have now solved the puzzle by identifying them with the *Kunindas* or *Kulindas* of early Hindu history. Under both of these forms their name is still preserved in the districts of *Kulu* on the Biās and *Kunāwar* on the Satlej. The Vishnu Purāna gives the name of *Kulinda*, which is supported by Ptolemy's *Kulindrine*, a district occupying the whole of the upper tract between the Bibasis or Biās River and the Ganges. It corresponds therefore most exactly with the Kunet District of the present day. Varāha Mihira places the *Kunindas* along with the Kāshmiras, Abhisāras, Kulūtas, and Sairindhas, and makes their country one of his nine divisions of India. In another place he marks their position still more definitely as being to the east of Madras. (*Madreso anyascha Kauninda.*) He also speaks of the King of the Kunindas. This was about A.D. 560, but we have coins of the King of Kuninda (*Rajnya Kunindasa*), which date before the Christian era. For *Kauninda* the Mārkandeya Purāna reads *Kaulinda*, which agrees with the *Kulinda* of the Vishnu Purāna. It would seem therefore that these are only two readings of the same name. This conjecture is strongly supported by the fact that much more than half of

therefore, be surprised to see that the Telugu *Kōdu*, *e.g.*, corresponds to the Sanskrit *Koṇḍa* (in Kōṇḍabhaṭṭa) and *Gōṇḍa*, though *koṇḍa* in Telugu signifies only mountain and not mountaineer, which meaning is expressed by *Koṇḍaruḍu*.[44]

The principal Gond tribes call themselves *Kōitor*. Telugu people regard the last syllable *tor* of this term as identical with the word *dora*, master, which is not improbable, as the Kōis affix this term to names, *e.g.*, Bhīma is called by them Bhīmadur. The Kōis of the Bhadrācala and Rēkapalli taluks in the Upper Gōdāvarī district are called *Doralu* (masters) only by their Mala and Mādiga servants, for this title is otherwise generally conceded only to the Velama land-owners.

It is a well-known fact that a word often loses its original meaning when it is used as a proper name. *Kōi* designates

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the population of Kulu is Kunet. . . . I have now traced the Kaunindas up to the third century B.C., when they were a rich and powerful people. But there is still earlier mention of the people in the Mahābhārata, where the Kulindas are said to have been conquered by Arjuna. From the context Wilson rightly concluded that they were mountaineers and neighbours of the Traigarttas or people of Kangra. In the Vishnu Purāna I find not only the *Kulindas* but also *Kulindopatyakas* or 'Kulindas dwelling along the foot of the hills,' which describes exactly the tract of plain country bordering the hills in which Srughna, the capital of the Kaunindas, was situated." About *Kulu* or *Kullu* see Sir W. W. Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. V, pp. 465-469: "'The character of the hill-men resembles that of most other mountaineers in its mixture of simplicity, independence, and superstition. Polyandry still prevails in Seorāj, but has almost died out elsewhere. It consists simply of a community of wives amongst brothers, who hold all their other goods in common, and regard their women as labourers on the farm. The temples usually occupy picturesque sites, and are dedicated rather to local deities than to the greater gods of the Hindu Pantheon."

Compare also Mr. J. W. McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 105, 109, 110.

[44] The Telugu people call the Gonds, Konds or Kands, *Kōya*, *Kōyavāḍu* (pl. Kōyavāṇḍlu), *Kōdu* (pl. Kōdulu), *Gōndu*, *Koṇḍaruḍu*, &c. We read in Lieutenant Macpherson's *Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack*, Calcutta, 1842, p. 20, § 42, the following account: "The Hindu name for this people which we have adopted, *Khond*, in the plural *Khondooloo*, means mountaineer, from the Teloogoo word signifying a *hill*. Their sole native appellation south of the *Mahanuddee* is *Koinga* or *Kwinga*, which may be a corruption of *Kulinga*, which, by the exchange of convertible letters may be *Pulinda*, meaning in Sanskrit and thence in Tamil *a bar-*

thus a mountaineer, but this radical meaning of the term was forgotten by that tribe when some of them had settled permanently in the plains. The Malvah or Gutta-Kōis (Hill-Kōis) are in consequence distinguished from the Sassi-Kōis (Plain-Kōis). The Khonds, on the other hand, call their own country *Kui Dina* or *Kui Pruti*, and that of the Uriyas *Sassi Dina*.

The Kōis worship as deities Kātūradu, Adamarāju, Korrarāju (who governs the tigers), Kommalamma, Sārlamma, and others. The five Pāṇḍava brothers, especially Arjuna and Bhīma, are highly revered. They have imitated the step of Bhīma in their dance. The Kōis or Kōyas in the Nizam's Dominions preserve a legend according to which they are descended from Bhīma and a wild superhuman woman whom he met in the woods.[45]

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barian, a savage mountaineer . . . They employ as distinctive *epithets* of their race, the terms—*Subboro* and *Mullaro*, the latter signifying *hill people*, from a root common to Tamul and Teloogoo, the Khonds designate the alpine portions of Orissa solely by its Hindu name (from the root) 'Malwa,' meaning *highlands*. The Hindu people they call *Sassi*, a word whose signification is not ascertained. The Khonds, who inhabit the mountains are styled *Maliah Koinga*, those of the low country *Sassi Koinga*."

The fifth volume of the *Calcutta Review* (January—June 1846) contains on p. 26 the following note: "Respecting the name of Khonds, Lieutenant Hill remarks, that, in their own language, 'they call themselves *Knee*. A single Khond is called Kwinga. By Uriyas, they are called *Khonds* and by the Telingas, Kodūlū and often Kodūwanūlū or hill people." According to Sir W. W. Hunter in his *Orissa*, vol. II, p. 71: "The word Kandh, like Mali and the tribal names of other hill tribes, means in the aboriginal languages 'mountaineer.' "

About the Gāнds or Gāndas consult Mr. Charles Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India*, pp. 100, 103, 247, 251, 412, 413, and 457. They cultivate some land in Rāīgarh, Laira and Sambalpur, but they seem not to be regarded as good cultivators. The population of Laira is chiefly agricultural and consists of Gonds, Khonds and Gāndas. Ou the other hand the Gāndas are generally classified as weavers. Their number in the Central Provinces amounts to 250,133.

Kōinga is the plural of Kōi, *nga* being the plural termination in the Kond language. A similar termiuation exists in the Koi language on the Gōdāvarī, *e.g.*, *māra*, tree, pl. marāṅgu; *goggōḍi*, cock, goggōdiṅgu; *banḍi*, carriage, banḍiṅgu; *goḍḍēli*, axe, goḍḍeliṅgu.

[45] See the Rev. John Cain's articles on "The Bhadrāchallam and Rēkapalli Talukas, Godāvarī District," in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V, pp. 301-

The four tribes to whom the title *Kōitor* is applied are the Rāj Gond, Raghuwal, Padal and Dholi, and occasionally

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303, 357–359; vol. VIII, pp. 33-36, 219-221; and vol. X, pp. 259-264. Read *ibidem*, vol. V, pp. 358, 359: "Formerly on a certain day in the year the *Koi* men of each village were driven into the jungle by the women to hunt, and were not allowed to return unless they brought home some game,—a small bird, or even a rat, being enough to give them the right to be welcomed back. This practice is still carried on by the *Kois* in the Bastar country, and also by many in the Nizām's territory. Mr. Vanstavern, whilst boring for coal at Beddadanolu, was visited on that day by all the Koi women of the village, dressed up in their lords' clothes, and they told him that they had that morning driven their husbands to the forest to bring home game of some kind or other. Mr. Vanstavern also states that the Kois round Beddadanolu do not eat the goat annually offered for a prosperous harvest, but leave it to itself in the jungle tied up to a tree.

"The *Kois* say that the following gods and goddesses were appointed to be worshipped by the Śūdras:—*Muttelamma*, *Maridimahālakshmī*, *Poturāzu*, and *Korrazulu*, and the following were to receive adoration from the Kois:—*Kommalamma*, *Kātūradu*, *Adamarazu*. The goddess Māmili or Lēle must be propitiated early in the year, or else the crops will undoubtedly fail; and she is said to be very partial to human victims . . . All the Kois seem to hold in great respect the *Pāṇḍava* brothers, especially Arjuna and Bhīma. The wild dogs or *dhols* are regarded as the *dūtas* or messengers of these brothers, and the long black beetles which appear in large numbers at the beginning of the hot weather are called the Pāṇḍava flock of goats. Of course they would on no account attempt to kill a *dhol*, even though it should happen to attack their favourite calf, and they even regard it imprudent to interfere with these *dūtas* when they wish to feast upon their cattle." In vol. VIII, p. 34, we read: "They say their dance is copied from *Bhīma's* march after a certain enemy. There is no Koi temple in any village near here, and the *Kois* are soldom if ever to be found near a Hindu temple."

In the Jeypore territory of the Vizagapatam district a similar practice as the abovementioned prevails. The men are often away for days in search of game, and if they return with none of an evening, their women pelt them with cow-dung.

The *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H.H. the Nizam's Dominions* remarks in vol. I, pp. 325, 326, about the Kōis as follows:—"The *Koyas* or *Kois* (45,300) are an aboriginal race, found chiefly in the Khamam District (39,990). They belong to the same family as the Gonds and the other primitive races of Central and Southern India. The Kois say that 'they are the descendants of Bhimadur, and the local tradition is that when Bhimadur accompanied his brother Dharma Ragu to his forest exile he one day went hunting in the jungle, and there met a wild woman of the woods, whom he fell in love with and married. The fruit of their union was the Koi people. The tradition further states that this wild woman was not a human being.' The language spoken by them is similar in some respects to that of the Gonds. Like the latter they are noted for their truthful habits . . . The fruit of the Ippa tree is dried and reduced to powder. This made into cakes and porridge forms their favourite and principal food for the greater part of

the Kolam. The Marias who are likewise styled Kōitur, represent perhaps now the purest type of the Gonds.[46]

In ancient times these people occupied a much larger portion of India than they do now. Their name appears in places far distant from one another, in the north, *e.g.*, in *Goṇḍa* or *Gauḍa* in Oudh, in *Khandwa* in the Central Provinces, in *Gondāl* in Kāṭhiawār, in *Khandesh* and *Khandāla* in Bombay, in *Gondvāna* in Central India, while *Khaṇḍagiri* and *Khaṇḍapāra* testify to their presence in Orissa. Even

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the year. They also distil great quantities of an intoxicating drink from the flowers; they will eat the flesh of every animal, not even rejecting that of the cow. They seldom remain long in one place, as soon as the productive powers of the soil are exhausted they move to another spot and make a fresh clearing. They have no caste, their religion consists of belief in one Supreme Being, they also worship the spirits of the mountains and a divinity who protects them from the ravages of tigers. They regard heaven as a large and strong fort where there is an abundance of rice stored up for those who are permitted to enter. Hell is a place in which an iron cow continually gnaws the flesh of the unfortunate persons detained there. Widow's remarriages are allowed. Their wedding ceremonies are exceedingly simple; the betrothed couple have a triangular mark placed on their foreheads, they then kneel together, and the ceremony is completed by pouring water over the heads of both. The personal appearance of both sexes is the reverse of prepossessing."

[46] *The Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India*, edited by Mr. Charles Grant, contains on pp. 137 and 500 the following statements: "The Māriās, or as they are called towards the north the Kohitūrs . . are in all probability the purest type of Gond. It is worthy of note that in villages bordering upon the more cultivated tracts the change of name from Māriā to Kohitūr, then to Janglī Gond, and then to Gond, can be seen in progress, and it is easy to imagine that a well-to-do Māriā family calling themselves Gond might in two or three generations adopt the more fashionable style of Rāj Gond (p. 137). . Gotēs and Koīs, or as they are commonly called Gotēwārs and Koiwārs—the termination *wār* being a Telugu affix, signifying person or man —are the aborigines of the country (Upper Godāvarī). Although almost identical in customs and in language, they do not eat together or intermarry, the Koīs claiming superiority over the Gotēs. The proper name for the Kois is 'Koitor,' and this is what they call themselves. By the Telingas they are called Koidhoras, the word 'dhora' meaning gentleman or sâhib. This error has probably arisen from the last syllable of 'Koitor' having been taken for 'dhora,' owing to the similarity of sound. The Koīs, where they come into contact with the Telinga population, have adopted many of their customs. . The Gotē keeps more aloof from civilisation; but . . the customs of the two races are very similar, and both belong to the Gond family (p. 500)." Compare also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII, p. 34: "The custom of calling the Kois *doralu* (*dora* = lord, Tel.) has

now these tribes are found in all the Presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, though their chief abode is in the Central Provinces.[47]

The Uriyas aspirate the final *d*, hence the name is often spelt Kondh or Kandh, but this pronunciation is only local.

Wherever the Gonds, Konds, or Kands are found in their own homesteads, far from strangers, they have preserved their national virtues, among which honesty, fidelity, and hospitality occupy a prominent position. Like many other wild tribes they are brave, but they are also cruel and very superstitious. In those parts of the country where they dwell, the simple-minded Gonds are feared as dangerous sorcerers and intimate friends of the evil spirits.

About the *Religious Doctrines* of the Khonds Captain Macpherson makes the following remarks : " There is one Supreme

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been traced by some (*Central Provinces Gazetteer*, p. 500) to the ending *tor* in the word *Koitor*. This has always seemed to me (Rev. Mr. Cain) rather doubtful, as this honorific affix is not only conceded to the *Kois*, but also to several other castes, *e.g.*, the (true) Vellamma caste, and to all the most influential natives in the independent or semi-independent neighbouring states." The Gonds in the Singbhūm District are called *Dorowas* or *Naiks*. See Dalton's *Ethnology*, p. 277, and Grant's *Gazetteer*, p. 137. Elsewhere in Narasingpur are found the Dhur Gonds which term appears to be identical with the Dhurwe or Naik Gonds. I wonder what is the meaning of the term Dhur (Dhurwe or Dorowas), and whether it is connected with the word *dora*.

About the Marias consult also the *Report of the Dependency of Bustar* by Deputy Commissioner C. L. R. Glasfurd, pp. 46–52 : "104. The Marias and Jhoorias, I should say, are, strictly speaking, a sub-division of the true Gond family."

[47] See Lieutenant Macpherson, p. 13, § 13 : "The Khonds are now seen, in " both of these situations, within the following ill-defined limits. Upon the " east they appear scattered over the wilder tracts of the Ganjam district " bordering upon the Chilka Lake, and are seen in that quarter at a few " points, upon the coast of the Bay of Bengal. They are found, on the " north-west, on the confines of Gondwana, in longitude 83°, while on the " west, they extend within the unsurveyed frontier of Berar. They are " found as far south as Bustar in latitude 19° 40′, while the Zemindary of " Palconda is like that of Kunnapoor possessed by a Khond Chief on the " south-east, they are replaced on the limits of the Souradah and Moherry " districts in Ganjam, by the Sourah race, which henceforward occupies " the eastern acclivities of the Ghauts to the Godavery. To the north, " fifty miles beyond the Mahanuddee, in the meridian of Boad, they are " succeeded by the Kole people. On the north-east, they are found high

"Being, self-existing, the Source of Good, and Creator of the "Universe, of the inferior gods, and of man. This divinity "is called in some districts, Boora Pennu, or the God of "Light; in others, Bella Pennu, or the Sun God; and the "sun and the place from which it rises beyond the sea are "the chief seats of his presence. Boora Pennu, in the "beginning, created for himself a consort, who became Tari "Pennu, or the Earth Goddess, and the Source of Evil. "He afterwards created the Earth. As Boora Pennu walked "upon it with Tari, he found her wanting in affectionate "compliance and attention as a wife, and resolved to create "from its substance, a new being, Man, who should render to "him the most assiduous and devoted service, and to form "from it also every variety of animal and vegetable life "necessary to man's existence. Tari was filled with jealousy, "and attempted to prevent his purpose, but succeeded only "so far as to change the intended order of creation. . . Tari "Pennu then placed her hands over the earth, and said,

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"in Cuttack, while Sourahs (not identified with the southern race) there "inhabit the inferior ridges of the Ghauts." (Compare his "Account of the Religion of the Khonds" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XIII, pp. 220, 221.)

Compare also *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces* left in MSS., by the late Rev. Stephen Hislop, missionary of the Free Church of Scotland at Nagpore: edited, with notes and preface, by R. Temple, C.S.I., 1866, pp. 3 and 4: "The name of Gond, or Gund, seems "to be a form of Kond, or Kund, the initial gutturals of the two words being "interchangeable. . Both forms are most probably connected with *Konda*— "the Teloogoo equivalent for a mountain—and therefore will signify 'the hill "people.' And no designation could be more appropriate to the localities "which the majority of them inhabit. Though they are also found residing "in the villages of the plains along with the more civilized Hindus, yet "they chiefly frequent the mountain ranges lying between 18° 40′ and 23° 40′ "north latitude, and between 78° and 82½ east longitude. This tract some- "what corresponds with the old Mahomedan division of Gondwâna, but differs "from it in not reaching so far to the east and in extending considerably "further towards the south-east. The Moghul geographers seem to have "included with the Gonds of Nagpore the Kōls on their east frontier, and to "have been ignorant of the relationship between them and the inhabitants "of Bustar. In the north, Gonds are met with about Saugor and near the "source of the Hasdo; on the east, they cross that river into Sarguja, where "they border on the Kōls, and are found with Konds and Uriyas in Nowa-

" 'Let these beings you have made exist; you shall create no " more.' Whereupon Boora caused an exudation of sweat to " proceed from his body, collected it in his hand, and threw " it around, saying: 'To all that I have created,' and thence " arose love, and sex, and the continuation of species. The " creation was perfectly free from moral and physical evil. " Man enjoyed free intercourse with the Creator. They lived " without labour. .in perfect harmony and peace. They went " unclothed.. .The lower animals were all perfectly innocuous. " The Earth Goddess, highly incensed at the love shown " towards man thus created and endowed, broke into open " rebellion against Boora, and resolved to blast the loss of his " new creature by the introduction into the world of every " form of moral and physical evil. . . A few individuals of " mankind entirely rejected evil, and remained sinless; the " rest all yielded to its power, and fell into a state of uni- " versal disobedience to the Deity, and fierce strife with one " another. Boora immediately deified the sinless few without " their suffering death. . . Upon the corrupted mass of man-

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" gudda, Kareal, and Kharond or Kālahandi; in the south, they form the " mass of the population of Bustar and a portion of the inhabitants of " Jeypur (in the Madras Presidency), while they occupy the hills along the " left bank of the Godavery about Nirmul; and on the west, they are inter- " mingled with the Hindus of Berar for 30 miles from the right bank of the " Wurdah, and, along the Kūrs, extend along the hills both north and south " of the Narbadda to the meridian of Hindia, where they give place to the " Bhils and Nahals.

" In such a large extent of country, as might be expected, they are di- " vided into various branches, and distinguished by specific names. The " classification adopted by themselves is into twelve and a half castes or " classes, in imitation of the Hindus. These are—Raj Gond, Raghuwāl, " Dadave, Katulyā, Pādāl, Dholi, Ojhyāl, Thotyāl, Koilābhutāl, Koikopāl, " Kolām, Mādyāl, and an inferior sort of Pādāl as the half caste. The first " four, with the addition, according to some of the Kolām, are comprehended " under the name of Koitor—the Gond, *par excellence*. This term, in its " radical form of Koi, occurs over a wide area, being the name given to the " Meria-sacrificing aborigines of Orissa and to the jungle tribes skirting the " east bank of the Godavery from the apex of the delta as far up nearly as " the mouth of the Indrawati. Its meaning is evidently associated with " the idea of a hill; the Persian name of which, *Koh*, approaches it more " closely than even the Teloogoo, *Kondā*. I need scarcely, therefore, add

"kind, Boora Pennu inflicted high moral penalties, and.. "entirely withdrew his face and his immediate guardianship "from mankind. He made all who had fallen subject to "death...Universal discord and war prevailed...Diseases and "death came upon all creatures; snakes became venomous... "Man..sank into a state of abject suffering and degrada-"tion..Meanwhile, Boora and Tari contended for superiority "in fierce conflict; their terrible strife raging throughout "the earth, the sea and the sky; their chief weapons being "mountains, meteors and whirlwinds. Up to this point, the "Khonds hold the same belief; but from it, they divide into "two sects directly opposed upon the great question of the "issue of the contest betweem Boora and his rebel consort.. "The sect of Boora believe that he proved triumphant in the "contest, and, as an abiding sign of the discomfiture of "Tari, imposed the cares of childbirth upon her sex...The "sect of Tari hold, upon the other hand, that she re-"mained unconquered, and still maintains the struggle with "various success."[48] I give this interesting story of the

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"that it has no connection with the interrogative *Koi*, as some have sup-"posed, nor has Koitor any relation to the Sanskrit *Kshatriya*, as suggested by "Sir R. Jenkins. Though there are a few of the more wealthy Koitors who "would gladly pass themselves off as Rajputs, yet the great majority of "those known by that name resent, with no small vehemence, the imputation "of belonging to any portion of the Hindu community. The sacred thread "of the twice-born, instead of being an object of ambition, is to them a "source of defilement."

The passage on the Gonds and Khonds in C. Lassen's *Indische Alterthums-kunde*, vol. I, pp. 426–432 (or pp. 373–78), should be consulted as well as those in the Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. II, pp. 134–152, and vol. III, pp. 200 and 206, and Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 275–304. In the second volume of H. H. Wilson's *Vishṇupurāṇa* published by F. Hall, p. 163, *Shaṇḍa* is read instead of Khaṇḍa.

[48] Lieutenant Macpherson gives in his report on p. 61 a list of the Khond deities and divides them into national and local deities: "In the first class are (1) Bera Pennoo or the Earth god; (2) Bella Pennoo, the Sun god, and Danzoo Pennoo, the Moon god; (3) Sunde Pennoo, the god of Limits; (4) Loha Pennoo, the Iron god or god of Arms; (5) Joogah Pennoo, the god of Small-pox; (6) Nadzoo Pennoo, or the Village deity: the universal genius loci; (7) Sora Pennoo, the Hill god, Jori Pennoo, the god of Streams, and Gossa Pennoo, the Forest god; (8) Moonda Pennoo, the Tank god;

creation of the world and the fall of man which Macpherson ascribes to the Khonds. It reminds one, however, in many of its features of the Biblical Accounts, and fills one with wonder that such an uncivilised Indian tribe as the Khonds should have so beautiful a legend of their own.

In the human sacrifices which these tribes offered up in days not long gone by, and which even now they have not altogether abandoned, they displayed an indescribable

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(9) Soogoo Pennoo or Sidrojoo Pennoo, the god of Fountains; (10) Pidzoo Pennoo, the god of Rain; (11) Pilamoo Pennoo, the god of Hunting; (12) god of Births." Lieutenant (Captain) Macpherson's Report was reprinted under the title of "An Account of the Religious Opinions and Observances of the Khonds of Goomsur and Boad" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. VII (1843), pp. 172-199, and "An Account of the Ghonds in Orissa" in vol. XIII, 1852, pp. 216–274 of the same journal. Besides Bura and Tari there are (pp. 226–228) "inferior gods divisible into two classes, distinguished by their origin, their attributes, and the scope of their duties and authority. The gods of the first class sprang from Boora and Tari... 1, Pidzu Pennu,the god of Rain. 2, Boorbi Pennu, the goddess of new Vegetation and First Fruits. 3, Peteri Pennu, the God of increase. 4, Klambi Pennu, the God of the Chase. 5, Loha Pennu, the God of war. 6, Sundi Pennu, the God of Boundaries. 7, Dinga Pennu, the Judge of the dead . . . The third class of inferior deities are sprung from the Gods of the first two classes. They are the strictly minor and local deities of the Khonds .. The following are the chief of this class of gods. 1, Nadzu Pennu, the Village God. 2, Soro Pennu, the Hill God. 3, Jori Pennu, the God of Streams. 4, Tozu Pennu, the Family or House God. 5, Mounda Pennu, the Tank God. 6, Sooga Pennu, the God of Fountains. 7, Gossa Pennu, the Forest God. 8, Koosti Pennu, the God of Ravines. 9, Bhora Pennu, the God of New Fruits, produced on trees or shrubs." These two accounts differ in some respects. On pp. 243–256 : the worship of Tari Pēnnu is described: "In the worship paid to Tari Pennu by her sect, the Chief rite is human sacrifice. It is celebrated as a public oblation by tribes, branches of tribes or villages both at social festivals held periodically, and when special occasions demand extraordinary propitiations. And besides these social offerings, the rite is performed by individuals to avert the wrath of Tari from themselves and their families." According to Mr. Grant (p. 106) the Gonds worship as a rule only "Bará Deva and Dúlá Deva."

Colonel Dalton says in his *Ethnology of Bengal*, on p. 281: "The Gonds are, however, found to have one common object of worship, called, according to the linguistic peculiarities of the locality, Búra Deo, Báda Deo, or Badiál Pen. Pen and Deo mean the same, but the signification of Búra or Báda I am not sure of. Major Macpherson tells us that Búra Pen, the Kandh god, means the 'god of light . .' I was credibly informed that the Gonds of Sirgūja formerly offered human sacrifices to Búra Deo."

Mr. Glasfurd, 48–52, remarks about the religion of the tribes in *Bustar* as follows: "The Mooreas, Bhuttras, Dhakurs, Gudwas, Marias, &c., all

atrocity. Yet, as an excuse for them, it ought not to be forgotten that their peculiar ideas about right and wrong made them believe that they had acquired a right of disposing of their Meriah victims, as they had bought and paid for them. The great goddess of the Earth, their principal divinity, could only be propitiated by human blood, to grant good pastures for their flocks and rich crops for their own support. The buffalo was by some Khonds sacrificed instead of the human being. These tribes depend for their living mainly on the produce of the earth which they till, for besides hunting they do not follow any other pursuit. Trading, for instance, is unknown to them.

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worship Dunteshwaree, or, as she is sometimes called, 'Maolee,' with 'Matha Devee,' 'Bhungarma,' or 'Dholla Devee,' 'Gam Devee,' Dongur Deo,' and Bheem. The higher castes worship 'Dunteshwaree' and 'Matha Devee' with the other well-known deities of the Hindoo Pantheon... She is the same as Bhowanee or 'Kelee'... Temples to Dunteshwaree or Maolee exist all over the vicinity of Jugdulpore and Duntewara. The temples to 'Matha Devee' are, perhaps, as numerous, if not more so. They are easily recognised by swings in front of the shed erected over the semblance of the goddess, which is generally a stone daubed with red, although I have more than once seen her represented by a grotesquely-carved figure dressed as a female, with a female attendant on each side... When small-pox appears this person (her Poojaree) becomes of great importance... Bhungarma, or Dholla Devee is said to be the sister of Matha Devee. She also has a swing put up before her temple, and is worshipped when cholera appears; but as small-pox is much more frequent in its visits, her worship is much neglected .... The Jhoorias, Mooreas, and Marias do worship the above-mentioned gods, especially towards Narayenpoor, Ubujmard, Kootroo, &c. The peculiar deity of the Jhoorias is 'Unga Deo;' he is represented by a piece of wood fastened to a framework made of four sticks. . . It has been the custom for the Bustar Rajahs to have a duplicate of the Jhooria 'Unga Deo' kept at Bustar. Whenever any epidemic appears, the Unga Deo at Narayenpoor is called for, and the duplicate sent in its stead. Sacrifices are made to the new arrival, and he is requested to state whether the cholera or the small-pox, as the case may be, will soon disappear... The Marees of 'Ubujmard' call their god 'Pen:' this word literally means god. They have several gods, which resemble the 'Unga Deo' of the Jhoorias. The most noted of those in the Maree country under Kootroo are 'Deda Maida' at Kolnar and 'Koolung Mora' at the village of Dewaloor; they are both represented by logs of wood. . . The 'Deda Maida' at Kolnar is the favorite deity of these wild people, and in the month of May there is a festival at Kolnar, at which all the Marees from far and near congregate and spend three days in dancing, and drinking, and singing. Throughout the Dependency the grossest ignorance and superstition prevail, and hold the minds of

Contact with Hindus more highly civilised exercised a remarkably deteriorating influence on the Gond tribes, who soon began to lose their own virtues and sink to a lower social condition. Harsh treatment, coupled with spiteful scorn, renders men callous and demoralises. Ignorant and uncivilised aborigines when they are under the influence of civilised and unscrupulous persons are especially subject to such degeneration. The *Caṇḍālas* are an illustration of this assertion.

They were probably the first Gaudian tribe whom the Aryan invaders reduced to abject servitude, and who became thus the prototype of the lowest Indian helots, which condition they share with the Dravidian Pariahs. The word *Caṇḍāla* is evidently a modification of Kaṇḍāla, a tribe mentioned by Ptolemy.[49]

Manu stigmatises a Caṇḍāla as the offspring of a Śūdra man and a Brahman woman, which definition, fostering no

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the people, from the highest to the lowest, in miserable thraldom. The simple and unsophisticated Gond tribes are believed to be expert necromancers, 'and on the most intimate footing with evil spirits.' Considering their secluded position from civilized life, their gross ignorance, and the solitary jungles they live in, it is, perhaps, not to be wondered at that the people invariably impute their misfortunes to witchcraft."

Compare also the article "Gonds and Kurkus," by Mr. W. Ramsay in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, pp. 128, 129: "The Gond admits none of the Hindu divinities into his pantheon, and is moreover bound on occasions of death to slay a cow and pour its blood on the grave to ensure peace and rest for the manes of the departed. In my experience, Gonds almost always bury their dead. . . The Gond deities are numerous: hill tops deified are favorite objects of adoration." Mr. Ramsay treats on the same subject on pp. 348–50, and he observes: "It is worthy of remark that one of the ceremonies after a death consists in killing a cow and sprinkling its blood over the grave; in default of this it is said that the spirit of the departed refuses to rest, and returns upon earth to haunt its relatives in life." Allusions to the Gonds are also contained in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 224; vol. VI, p. 233; vol. IX, p. 140, and vol. X. p. 321.

Read also the remarks on the Khonds in Sir W. W. Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. II, pp. 67-102, 283-8, and the article "On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa" by Lieut. J. P. Frye, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XVII (1860), pp. 1–38.

[49] See Part I, p. 60.

doubt the prejudices of caste by assigning to the detested offspring of such persons a despised rank, does not explain the ethnological position of the original Caṇḍālas.[50] The late Rev. Dr. John Wilson was, so far as I know, the first to recognize in the Caṇḍālas the Kandaloi of Ptolemy.[51] The name of the Caṇḍālas has great similarity with that of the Rājput *Candels* (whose Gond origin is an admitted fact), *Candas*, *Candaks*, and *Candanis*, and others. The Caṇḍālas prevail in the Gaudian districts of the North, for, of the 1,779,047 Caṇḍālas who appear in the Indian Census report, 173,532 live in Assam, 1,576,076 in Bengal, and 29,439 in the Central Provinces.

Koṇḍa is even now a name common to Caṇḍālas, so that their original identity with the Gond race is likewise suggested by this circumstance.

I must also not omit to allude here to the *Kuntalas* (Kōntalas), *Kuṇḍalas* and other tribes who are mentioned in Sanskrit writings. The famous capital *Kuṇḍina* (Kuṇḍinapura) where Bhīṣma or Bhīṣmaka held his court, so celebrated

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[50] Compare Mānavadharmaśāstra, X, 12:

Śūdrādayōgavaḥ kṣattā caṇḍālaś cādhamō nṛṇām.

Vaiśyarājanyaviprāsu jāyante varṇasaṅkarāḥ.

About the Caṇḍālas compare also *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsanaparva, 2621, and J. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. I, p. 481.

Consult also the *Memoirs of the Origin of Slaves*, by Rāmappa Karnik of Barkur, translated and annotated by Mr. Joseph Saldanha, Court Sheristadar at Mangalore, and printed by Dr. Shortt in the IV Part of *The Hill Ranges of Southern India*, pp. 15-37; p. 17: "Sub-division of Chandalas . . The Chandalas are subdivided as follows: *a.* Hambatar or Fammadas, *b.* Panar, *c.* Hasalar, *d.* Paravar, *e.* Belar or Medarar, *f.* Battadar, *g.* Merar, *h.* Karajar, *i.* Asadi, *j.* Holeya, *k.* Madiga, *l.* Bākada with three sub-divisions, I. Chujana Bākada, II. Turibina Bākada, III. Goddina Bākada, *m.* Nuliga, *n.* Kappata Koragar, *o.* Soppina Koragar. (This class speak a language peculiar to themselves which they won't give out under any circumstances.)"

The Hindu Law recognizes fifteen different classes of Slaves or Caṇḍālas.

[51] Read Dr. John Wilson's *Indian Caste*, vol. I, p. 57: "A Chāṇḍāla, the lowest of mortals, whose tribe is recognized by Ptolemy as that of the *Kandali* or *Gondali*, on the river Taptī, perhaps the Gonds—adjoining the *Phyllitae* of the same author, identified as the *Bhills*—or the *Goṇḍhalis*, still a wandering tribe of the Maharāshṭra."

by his beautiful daughter Rukminī, may perhaps be connected with the aboriginal Gond race.

Khaṇḍe Rāva (Khaṇḍōbā) or *Khaṇḍōji* is, like Bhairava, an incarnation of Śiva and much worshipped by the lower classes in the Marātha country. In that district he is every where revered as a house-hold deity and numerous temples are erected for his worship. The shepherds claim him as their tutelary deity. He is most frequently represented as riding on horseback, attended by a dog and accompanied by his wife *Malsara*, another form of Pārvatī. As he generally carries in his hand a big sword, his name is popularly derived from *khaṇḍe*, sword. I regard this explanation as very problematic, and, taking him as a representative national deity, prefer to connect his name with the aboriginal Khand people of Khandesh and its neighbourhood. It is now perhaps impossible to ascertain whether his worship is connected with the existence of a deified Khand leader. No historical record on this topic has come to us. I explain the common term Khaṇḍōbā as originating from *Khaṇḍa* (khaṇḍe) + *bā*, a familiar Marāthi form for *bāpā*, father; compare Gaṇēśa *Gaṇōbā*, Mahiṣa *Māhsōbā*, Viṭṭhala *Viṭhōbā*, Vināyaka *Vinōbā*, &c.[52]

[52] About "*Koṇḍa*, a name common to Chāndālas," see Rev. W. Reeve's *Canarese and English Dictionary*, revised by Dr. Sanderson, p. 326. The name of *Khaṇḍe Rāva* is in Molesworth's *Marāṭhi and English Dictionary* (second edition), p. 193, explained as: "खंडेराव, m. (खंड Sword, and राव) An incarnation of Shiva." The word खंड is peculiarly enough not found in this Marāthi dictionary in the sense of sword, though seven different meanings of this word are given on p. 191 and nine various renderings of खांड are contained on p. 202, without, however, mentioning that of sword. The Hindustāni کھانڈا-*khāṇḍā*, sword, is explained as a derivation of the Sanskrit खड्ग-*khaḍga*. *Khaṇḍā* in the Uriya language signifies a sword. Even if this etymology is correct, it is not at all necessary that the term *khaṇḍe* in *Khaṇḍe Rāva* has the same origin. Many Indian gods carry, like *Khaṇḍōbā* a sword, but are not called after it.

The Hindu Pantheon by Edward Moor, F.R.S., Madras, 1864, contains on pp. 285, 286, an account of Khaṇḍōbā: "What I have to relate of *Kandeh Rao* is gathered chiefly from Poona Brahmans; who state, that *Siva* became incarnate in his personage for the purpose of destroying an

It is perhaps worth mentioning here that the Gaudian Koṛagas, of whom I shall speak in the next chapter, place on a hillock a stone, which they worship, while most of the

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oppressive giant, named *Mani-mal*, at a place in the Carnatic, called *Phemer*. *Parvati*, they say, under the name of *Malsara*, accompanied her lord, who appeared as a man clothed in green. .: he is generally represented with *Parvati* on horseback, attended frequently by a dog. The giant *Mani-mal* made a most desperate defence against Kandeh Rao's attack, but was at length slain: whereupon all the oppressed subjects of this giant paid adoration to *Kandeh Rao*, to the number, as the story goes, of seven Kroor of people, whence this Avatāra is called *Yehl-khut*: *Yehl*, in a dialect of the Carnatic, being seven, and *Khut*, or *Koot*, being a *Mahrata* pronunciation of Kroor (100,00,000), a hundred lakh, or ten millions." About Khaṇḍōbā consult also Rev. Stevenson's article "On the Modern Deities worshipped by the Hindus in the Dekkan" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. VII, pp. 105–112. "The first in order of the modern deities is Khandoba, as he is usually termed by way of respect, or more properly Khande Rāo. This name may have been given him from his breaking the hosts of his enemies, or from his wearing a particular kind of sword called in Marathi 'khāndā.' His Sanskrit name is Mallāri, which has been given him from the Daitya he vanquished. This name is corrupted into Mahhār. There is a legend relative to this deity called the Mallāri Mahatmya, which professes to belong to the Kshetra Kanda of the Brahmānda Purāna. It is a dialogue between Pārvati and Mahadeva, the latter of whom merely repeats what Sanat Kumāra narrated formerly to the sages engaged in performing austerities in the Naimisha forest. The scene of this romance is laid at a low range of hills called in Sanskrit the Mani Chūdā (jewel cliff) and in Marathi, Khade Pathār (table-land above the cliff). The town of Jejurī, which lies about thirty miles east from Poonah, is built close to its western extremity. At this place, according to the legend, certain Brahmans were interrupted in their devotions by a Daitya called Malla, who with his brother Mani and a great army. . .beat and ill-used the Brahmans . . .In Sir John Malcolm's account of the Bhils, in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, mention is made of a powerful tribe of these freebooters, who derive their origin from a place called Toran Malla. Their remotest ancestor, in the same account, is said to have murdered a Brahman, and carried off his daughter; and one of their patriarchs, Kunda Rānā, with his brothers, to have conquered and ruled over all the surrounding country. By some one of that tribe probably the Brahmans were oppressed when they called in the aid of some other local prince called Khande Rāo . . . The Champaka Shashti is directed to be held particularly sacred to Mallāri. It is the sixth day of the increase of the moon in the month Mārgasirsha (November-December). This is the great day accordingly at Jejurī, where Khandoba's principal temple is. It formerly stood on the top of the hill, but on being re-edified by Malhār Rao Holkār, the first famous Maratha leader of that name, whose family god Khande Rāo was, the site was changed to a level spot, but a little way from the base of the mountain. The approach is by a pretty broad flight of stone stairs . . . The third landing-place is the platform

other Caṇḍālas of the district revere a deity called *Kandiya*, who is most probably identical with Khaṇḍōbā.[53]

In a similar way I am inclined to associate the name of the Khandesh district with *Khaṇḍa*. Khandesh can be explained as signifying the Khand country, Khaṇḍa + dēśa, *Khaṇḍadēśā* contracted into Khaṇḍēśa, Khandesh. It is also possible to interpret it as the name of the lord of the Khands, *Khaṇḍa*, + *īśá*, Khaṇḍēśa.[54]

Some religious customs can be traced to the Gonds. It is thus not unlikely that the Gondaṇa worship, in which the Marātha Brahmans and other Hindus revere Pārvatī, is of Gond origin, equally as the *Gōndaḷa* ceremony among the Kolis. In this case the tribal name of the Gaudian *Goṇḍhalis* has been substituted to call the performance after the performers, which circumstance was forgotten in course of time. The term Pariah in its wrong derivation

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of the temple . . . Inside there is the image of Khande Rāo and his wife Mhālsā, placed behind a Linga, which is raised a little from the floor . . . Although from the local nature of the worship of Khande Rāo, the surname of Rāo, and the engrafting of this worship on the more ancient adoration of the Linga, it would appear to be comparatively modern, still we cannot trace its origin by the light of authentic history."

The passage in the *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, pp. 344–346, is taken from this account, to which is added the statement that "Khande Rao or Khandoba of Ujāin was the great champion of Brahmanism in the seventh century of the Christian era." The authority of this statement is unknown to me.

About the worship of *Khaṇḍōbā* compare also the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. X, p. 286, in the article *Murlīs* and *Wāghiās*.

[53] In the *Memoir of the Origin of Slaves* we read on p. 28: "The two classes of Koragars place some stone on a hillock, worship it by performing Pūja, as the god of Koragars. The remaining classes worship a deity called Kandiya and pay her vows."

[54] About the name of Khandesh compare "Rough Notes on Khāndesh" by W. F. Sinclair, Bo.C.S., in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, p. 108: "The term *Khāndesh* is of doubtful derivation. It has been supposed to refer to the title of Khān used by the Sulṭāns of Burhānpur, and has also been derived from *Kāṇh-desh*, 'land of Krishṇa,' (conf. Kāṇhpur); from Tān-desh, 'the land of thirst,' in allusion to its arid plains and scanty rainfall; facetiously from Kāṇṭadesh, 'the land of thorns,' in which it certainly abounds; and finally the author of the *Ayini Akbari* and other Musulmān writers allude to it as 'Khāndesh, otherwise called Dāndesh,' which might be derived from 'Dāngdeśa,' the mountain and the plain. . . . I am inclined myself to

from *paṟai*, drum, offers a parallel example, as I have previously explained on p. 60 in Part I.[55]

If *Gondophares* can be accepted as the actual name of the well-known Parthian king who ruled in North-Western India in the neighbourhood of Peshawar, one may possibly associate his name with that of the Gaudian or Gond tribe. However, the name appears in so many variations on coins and inscriptions that it is a difficult matter to settle. On the Greek obverse of some coins we read *Yndopherres*, which Dr. Aurel Stein inclines to identify with the Old-Persian *Vindaferna*, winning glory. On the Arian-Pāli reverse *Gudaphara* or *Gadaphara* is generally found. The name of Gondophares is of additional interest as the legend connects it with the visit of the Apostle Thomas to India. The locality of the adventures of Saint Thomas was eventually transplanted to South India; and Mailapur, now a suburb of

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believe in the derivation from Kāṇh, and to suppose that it was afterwards altered by the Musulmāns to the modern form. Krishṇa, under the name of Khaṇḍobā, is at this day, and would seem to have long been, a favorite divinity in the country."

By substituting Khaṇḍōbā for Kṛṣṇa Mr. Sinclair supports my theory, though Khaṇḍōbā as a representation of Śiva could hardly be identical with Kṛṣṇa.

[55] See "An Account of the Mhadeo Kolies," by Captain A. Macintosh in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. V, pp. 108–111: "Whatever malady man, woman, or child, or even their cattle, may be seized with, the Kolies imagine it is produced by the agency of some evil spirit or offended deity .... two or three sheep are sacrificed as a peace-offering to the goddess Bhoany (Dewee) and the gods Khundobah and Bhyroo, and the Gondhul ceremony takes place afterwards."

In H. H. Wilson's *Glossary* we read on p. 182: "*Gondana*, *Gondaḷa*, or *Gondli*, *Gondhala*, or *Gondal*. A tumultuous festivity in honour of the goddess Devī, celebrated, even in Mysore, chiefly by Maratha Brāhmans, it being a Maratha festival (from the Mar. *Gondhala*, tumult, bustle), consisting of music, and dancing, and recitation of mythological stories . . . It is probably the same thing as the *Gondhal*."

"*Gondhalī*, incorrectly *Gondali*, and *Gondli*, or *Gondlee*, corruptly *Gonedullee*. The name of a caste, or individual of it, whose business it is to sing and dance, and perform the *Gondhal*: in some places the *Gondhali* is the village drummer, sometimes he is a vagrant musician, dancer, and tumbler, or subsists by begging."

Read also *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions*, vol. I, pp. 316, 317: "The *Gondhalis*.—Members of this sect. .

Madras, is pointed out as the place of his last mission and of his passion. Peculiarly enough, we find that the Rāja of Mailapur, who is associated with Saint Thomas, is called *Kandappa*, a name which has some resemblance with Gandaphares, a variation of Gondophares. It must, however, be mentioned that *Kanda* or *Kandappa* is the Tamil form of Skanda, the well-known Subrahmaṇya, whose vehicle is the peacock, in Tamil *mayil*, மயில். Professor Gutschmid has identified Gundophares with Caspar, one of the three Magi who went to Bethlehem. I have already explained in my monograph on Prester John the names of the three holy kings as representing the countries whence they came. *Melchior*, king of Nubia, became thus *Malki y'ōr*, king of the Nile, *Balthasar*, king of Saba, *Bēlsazzar*, king of the Chaldaeans, and *Kaspar*, king of Tarsis in Central Asia, *Kas-bār*, the ruler of the Casia regio.[56]

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are distributed chiefly in the Bider, Naldrug, Aurangabad, Birh and Nandair districts. They are usually attached to temples, though some are wandering mendicants. Numbers of them are found at Tuljapur. They perform what is known as the Gondhal ceremony at the houses of Brahmins in the Dasara, Hanuman's birthday and the cocoanut holidays. This ceremony can only be performed by married members of the sect, and those so entitled to perform it wear a string of cowries round their necks. They bury their dead and shave their beards as a sign of mourning." See *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, p. 309: "They dance at Hindu weddings with a lighted torch in their hands."

Compare note 51 on p. 132.

[56] The variations of Gondaphares are: Gandophares, Gundopharus, Gundoforus, Yndopheres, Gudaphara, Gadaphara, Godaphara.

See on this subject *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, by Percy Gardner, LL.D., edited by R. S. Poole, LL.D.; Introduction, pp. xliii, xlvi, lxxiii; 103–107, 174. With respect to dental and lingual *d* the editor makes on p. lxx the remark: "I cannot distinguish on the coins between *na* and *ṇa*, *da* and *ḍa*." The nasal in *Gu* (*Ga* or *Go*) *daphara* has been omitted as in the name of Menander, which is spelt *Menadra*.

Read also Dr. M. Aurel Stein's *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins*, p. 13.

Among the articles of the pioneers of Indian Archæology consult T. Prinsep's *Note on the Historical Results deducible from recent Discoveries in Afghanistan*, London, 1844, and his *Essays on Indian Antiquities;* H. H. Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 256, 340, 342; Christian Lassen's monograph *Zur Geschichte der Griechischen und Indoskythischen Könige* and especially in

CHAPTER X.

On the Koḍagas, Koṟagas, Koṟavas, Todas, and Kōtas.

The Koḍagas.

The *Koḍagas* or Kurgs are the inhabitants of Kurg and represent the dominant tribe of that province. They are a hardy race, independent and proud of the liberty they enjoy. A foreign dynasty of Liṅgayat Rajas ruled over them till 1834. Their country is generally called *Kuḍagu* or *Koḍagu,* which term signifies, according to my opinion, mountain-tract. The beginning of this word means mountain, and the suffix *gu* is added to its end. A Kurgman is called *Koḍagan* or *Kuḍagan,* but the term *Kuṭavan* is used in Malayālam besides *Kuṭakan* for the gutturals, as we have seen, interchange occasionally with the semi-vowel *v*. The syllable *an* indicates the pronoun of the third person masculine.

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his *Indische Alterthumskunde,* vol. II, pp. 391–397 : " In dem dritten von diesen Reichen, dessen Daseyn nur durch die Münzen uns bezeugt wird, in Arachosien war *Yndopherres* oder *Gondophares* der Wiederhersteller der Parthischen Herrschaft. Die letztere Form is die einheimische gewesen, weil sie in den Arianischen Inschriften vorkommt . . (Wo die Vocalzeichen noch vorhanden sind, ist der Name *Guduphara* zu lesen, das *n* scheint nicht bezeichnet zu seyn, wenigstens nicht wie auf den Münzen des Menandros) . . Seine Münzen stellen uns gleichsam im Umrisse die Geschichte seiner Thaten vor . . . Zwei seiner Typen sind zweifelhafter Deutung . . . Die zweite ist ihm und seinem Nachfolger eigenthümlich. Auf dieser Münze erscheint eine Gestalt in Indischer Tracht mit einem Zepter; vielleicht ist es der König selbst. Wenn dieses richtig ist, kann daraus gefolgert werden, dass er, wenn auch nicht eigentliche Inder, was unmöglich ist, doch Unterthanen gehabt habe, deren Gebräuche nur wenig von jenen sich unterschieden, und denen er seine Achtung dadurch beweisen wollte, dass er zugleich sich ihnen in Parthischer and in Indischer Tracht zeigte."

Specially noticed should be also Sir Alexander Cunningham's writings, *e.g.,* his " Coins of the Indian Buddhist Satraps with Greek inscriptions," in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* vol. XXIII, pp. 711–13; his remarks in the *Archæological Survey of India,* vol. II, pp. 59–61, vol. V, pp. 60, 62, and vol. XIV, pp. 48, 116. See further *Die Nachfolger Alexander des Grossen in Bactrien and Indien* von Alfred von Sallet; the *Indian Antiquary,* vol. III, p. 309; vol. IX, pp. 258–263; vol. X, p. 214; vol. XII, p. 7; my book *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte,* zweite verbesserte Auflage, pp. 7, 41 and 228; *Die Kirche der Thomas-Christen* von Dr. W. Germann, pp. 16, 22, 26, 100.

The derivation of the word *Koḍagu* is a disputed point among scholars. Dr. Gundert feels inclined to connect it with *koṭu*, steep, the Rev. F. Kittel connects it with the root *kuḍ*, and Bishop Caldwell gives as its meaning either *curved* or *west*. I believe that *Koḍagu* or *Kuḍaku* is in reality a name, and that the signification *West* is derived from it. To the Tamil people *Kuḍagu* is a western, but to the Malayālis it is an eastern district. We find thus that the king of *Cēra* is called in Tamil the king of the West or *Kuḍakōn* (Kuḍakō and Kuḍanātan), while the king of *Koṅṅu* or Cēra is in Malayālam the king of the East, and Cēṟakāṟṟu is a name of the East-wind. *Koṅṅu* signifies according to Dr. Gundert *mountain-declivity*, and, though a general name of the Cēra (or Kēraḷa) country, it is particularly applied to the Coimbatore district. Moreover, *kuḍakku* for *west* is a special Tamil expression and not found in the other kindred tongues. Even Tamil generally uses in its stead the more common term *mēṟku*. I feel therefore inclined to explain the Tamil meaning of *kuḍakku* as *west* from the situation of the Kurg country which occupies a prominent position. Just in the same way the south-wind is called in Tamil *Cōḻakam* after the southern *Cōḻa* country whence it blows.[57]

[57] Kurg is *Koḍagu* in Kanarese, Tulu and Telugu, *Kuḍaku* and *Kuḍakam* in Tamil, and *Kuṭaku* or *Koṭaku* in Malayālam. *Kuṭavan* and *Kuṭaman* signify in Malayālam a predial slave, while *Kuṭiyan* means a slave in Kurg. The latter term may have been perhaps derived from the word *kuṭi*, house. With respect to the interchange of *g* and *v* compare in Telugu *pōgu* and *pōvu*, earring; *pagaḍamu* and *pavaḍamu*, coral; *aguṭa* and *avuṭa*, to be. Consult C. P. Brown's *Telugu Grammar*, and see Part I, p. 56.

Respecting the name *Koḍagu* the Rev. F. Kittel makes the following remarks in a note to his article "Three Kongu Inscriptions" in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, pp. 99–103: "As evinced by the pronunciation of Kanarese, Koḍaga, and other peoples, the name of the country is *Koṅgu* (not Kōṅgu with the long Sanskrit *o*); an inhabitant of that country, now-a-days often identified with the Koyambuttūr (Coimbatore) district, is called a Koṅga. Thus also *Koḍagu* (Coorg) is the country, and *Koḍaga*, a native of Coorg. Koṅgiṇi, Koṅguṇi, Koṅgaṇi are Sanskṛitized forms. Though Koṅgu and *Koḍagu* more than probably have the same root (*Kuḍ*), there seems to be no historical proof for the identity of the names. Among the *Koḍagas* of our time there is a well-known family called the *Koṅga* house,—a secondary

It is not impossible that the ancestors of the present Koḍagas, unless they are regarded as aborigines, immigrated at a later period into Kurg. In those early days the Billavas and the Kuṛumbas, the two representatives of the ancient Dravidian and Gaudian tribes, were already living on these mountains, as well as the Holeyas and Yeravas, who probably had not been degraded into bondslaves and outcastes.[58]

The principal divisions among the Kurgs are the priestly or Amma-Koḍagas and the Lay-Koḍagas.[59] Both classes are of Gaudian origin, though the Kāvēri Purāṇa represents the Amma-Koḍagas as Brahmans, who had been cursed by Agastya. Brahmanic tradition assigns to the ancient Tulu priests a similar fabulous history. These are said to have been fishermen, whom Paraśurāma had elevated into Brahmans by investing them with the holy thread torn from the cords of their nets, but whom he afterwards again degraded as unbelievers. The Amma-Koḍagas were probably

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evidence as to the influence of the Koṅgas over at least a portion of Coorg. It would be of some interest to know in what document Koḍagu is first mentioned." Bishop Caldwell gives in the introduction to his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, second edition, two different explanations of the word *Koḍagu*. On p. 22 he says: "The word *Koṅgu*, one of the names of the Chera country, means, like Kuḍagu (Coorg), crooked, curved, and is evidently a name derived from the configuration of the country;" and on p. 36 he writes: "The native spelling of Coorg is usually *Koḍagu*, properly *Kuḍagu*, from *kuḍa*, west, a meaning of the word which is usual in ancient Tamil." The original meaning of Kurg is often explained as signifying *western*, but this explanation like the others proposed by the two previously mentioned scholars appears to me improbable.

[58] See *Coorg Memoirs; an Account of Coorg*, by the Rev. H. Moegling, Bangalore, 1855; the Rev. G. Richter's *Manual of Coorg* (1870) and his *Ethnographical Compendium on the Castes and Tribes found in the Province of Coorg*, Bangalore, 1887; as well as Mr. Lewis Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. III. Moegling gives on pp. 1–10 a description of the Kurg country.

[59] According to *A Manual of Coorg Civil Law*, by Captain R. Cole, p. 4, "There are four different sects or tribes amongst the Coorgs, viz., 1. *Amma*, 2. *Sanna*, 3. *Malla*, 4. *Boddu* Coorgs. Amongst these sects the *Amma* and *Sanna* Coorgs are to be found in all parts of Coorg proper, whilst the *Boddu* Coorgs are chiefly found to the north of Mercara. The *Malla* Coorgs are amalgamated with the *Sanna* Coorgs and are no longer distinguishable."

so called after *Amma Kāvēri* or Mother Kāvēri, whom they worship, though they do not assist at any ceremonies at the Kāvēri temple. In fact for a considerable period the Amma-Koḍagas do not appear to have performed any priestly functions at all. They hardly surpass their lay countrymen in education, and they live entirely on agriculture. They possess no sacred books of their own, and their influence is very limited. Some years back they could scarcely be distinguished from the other Kurgs, and they have only lately discarded their national costume, in order to imitate the Brahmans in their dress and food. They wear now the sacred thread and abstain from animal food and liquor. According to tradition, the Ammas owned once half of the Kurg country free of rent, while the other half belonged to the Lay Kurgs. But circumstances have changed much of late, and the Amma-Koḍagas are not only greatly reduced in numbers, but are still continuing to decrease.[60]

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[60] Compare *Coorg Memoirs* of the Rev. H. Moegling, pp. 24-27: "When the Brahmans for whom Parashurāma's victory opened the Western Coast, settled in their new country, they found there an indigenous priesthood. They could not destroy them; they could not, or would not, amalgamate with them. What was to be done? The Parashurāma Shriṣhti Kathe (history of the creation of Kērala by Parashurāma) has managed the difficulty. The native priesthood, the Taulava Brahmans, are represented as Brahmans, created by Parashurāma, but afterwards cursed by him. They were originally fishermen. Parashurāma elevated them to Brahmanical rank by investing them with cords, torn from their nets. Afterwards, provoked by their unbelieving presumption, he degraded them for ever. Thus the ancient priests of the Tulu country were absorbed by the Brahmanical system as Brahmans, lying under a curse. In a similar manner the Ammas of Coorg appear in this Kāvēri Purāṇa, as Brahmans indeed originally, but degraded by the curse of the Rishi Agastya... The real history of the Ammas, or Amma Koḍagas has thus been effaced, and cannot be restored. However, a few facts may be mentioned as proofs, that the Ammas are the remains of the ancient priesthood, though they know it not themselves. 1. Their common name is Amma Koḍaga, which would naturally signify: Coorgs devoted to the worship of Amma, *i.e.*, the goddess of the chief river of the country, the Kāvēri. 2. They observe the great festivals of the Coorg country in the same manner as the rest of the Coorgs, but of course, as priests, performing pūja, etc. 3. They dress like the rest of the Coorgs, though wearing at the same time, the Brahmanical cord. However, on this subject my information is rather curious. It is said, that

The Lay-Kurgs were formerly a warlike race, but the long years of peace and security have to a certain extent softened their manners. Still they are strong and brave, and though now not called upon to face hostile armies, they courageously encounter the wild and fierce beasts which infest their woods and mountains.

Their acknowledged bravery and the loyalty they displayed towards Government secured to the Kurgs the distinction of being exempted from the provisions of the Disarming Act after the suppression of the Great Mutiny.

It has been asserted that polyandry exists, or has existed, among the Koḍagas, and though this practice has probably become extinct in more recent times, there is no reason for supposing that it did not once exist. Polyandry is a custom peculiar to the Gauda-Dravidian tribes, and is still found among certain races. The households of the Koḍagas, in which two or three, perhaps even four, generations live together, have been likened to those of the five Pāṇḍavas.

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having degenerated by degrees, and being at last carried away by the Turks, they ceased to put on the holy cord, and began to wear the common Coorg dress. But it appears to me, that the truth differs much from the current statement. I suppose, that they wore the Coorg-dress originally, knew nothing of Brahmanical pretensions and badges, and differed in nothing from their brethren, except their selection for the priestly office. In more recent times they seem to have inclined towards the proffered patronage of the Brahmans, and to have gradually dropped into Brahmanical habits of thought and life. A good many now wear the holy cord, having laid aside the dress of their country, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. This return to Brahmanical initiation and dress was brought about by a Haviga Brahman, the late Karṇika, Timappaya. His family still exercise spiritual rule over the Amma Koḍagas, who appear to delight in the shade of Brahmanical patronage. 4 They have no Shāstra. The whole Coorg race was unlettered from the beginning. Their own priesthood also, like the priests of ancient Germany and Britain, had no need of books." Mr. Lewis Rice's statements, *loco citato*, pp. 227, 228, coincide with those of Mr. Moegling. The Rev. G. Richter gives in his *Ethnographical Compendium* the following description of the Amma Koḍagas on p. 21 : "The *Amma Coorgs* form but a small and exclusive sect. They are said to have been the indigenous priesthood, but there is no distinct priesthood attached to demon worship. The Coorgs being demon worshippers can have had no priesthood in the Brahmanical sense and the *Amma* Coorgs may rather be considered as having been, like the *Ajjala Palyas*, the officiating *Pujaris* at

The Koḍagas are very superstitious, worshipping demons and evil spirits.

On the whole the Koḍaga is a very worthy representative of the Gauda-Dravidian race, and has no need to raise himself in the esteem of others by claiming to be an Aryan Kṣatriya.[61]

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the bloody sacrifices offered to their *Bhutas*, an office which generally the head of the family performs. Yet their name, *Amma Kodagas*, denotes that they were devotees to 'Mother Kaveri,' a river deity which is identical with *Parvati*, the wife of *Siva*. . It may be conjectured that the Brahmans coming in contact with the rude Coorg mountaineers and seeing in the dominant race a promising field to further their own interests, imposed upon them their own puranic superstition and peopled the high mountains with celebrated *rishis* or hermits, chief among them *Agastia Muni*, and brought the source of the *Kaveri* in relationship with the principal Brahmanical deities, *Siva* and *Parvati*, and to give divine authority to their proceedings they foisted upon the Coorgs the *Kaveri Purana*, a feat which may have overawed a rude and superstitious race, but which by modern criticism is discovered as a fraudulent imposition of recent date. To conciliate and win over the indigenous *Bhuta pujaris* they were admitted as a sort of inferior priests of *Kaveri Amma*, hence their name *Amma Kodagas*. In the course of time disputes must have arisen between them and the more crafty and learned *Bramanical* priests whose interests necessitated a monopoly and as legend has it, the former fell under *Kaveri's* curse and decreased, whilst the Coorgs who sided with *Agastia Muni*, were promised increased prosperity. But however obscure the history of the *Amma* Coorgs may be, the fact is that from time immemorial they perform no priestly functions whatever, and being unlettered and ignorant they exercise no spiritual influence upon the rest of the Coorgs from whom they are only distinguished by wearing the Brahmanical cord and by abstaining from animal food and fermented liquor. They do therefore not eat with Coorgs nor intermarry with them ; but the Brahmans do in no wise acknowledge them as of equal standing or even resembling them in priestly dignity. Their number does not exceed 400, and the next census will likely confirm the opinion of their steady decrease. They live on agriculture only. It is said that a class of people like the *Amma Kodagas* live in the Wynaad, with whom they claim relationship, but have now no intercourse." The legend of Paraśurāma elevating fishermen on the Tuluva shore to Brahmans by destroying the nets and forming Brahmanical strings out of their meshes, is also contained in a Kanarese *Bhūgōla*. Paraśurāma became incensed against them in consequence of their attempting to try the truth of his word.

[61] See *Coorg Annals*, pp. 27, ff: " There can be no doubt, that the Coorgs have an origin distinct from the population both of the Western coast (Canara and Malayālam), and of the Mysore tableland. Their very appearance proves this. They are a tall, muscular, broad-chested, well-favored race. Many of them do not exceed the neighbouring tribes in height of

The Koṛagas.

A greater dissimilarity can hardly exist between two tribes than is found between the Koḍagas of Kurg and the Koṛagas of Kanara, though both belong to the same Gaudian race. The free and independent bearing of the Koḍaga stands in glaring contrast to the shy and retiring demeanour

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body. . Their complexion is rather fair, their features generally regular. . . The national character of the Coorgs is perhaps tolerably well understood by the people of the plains, who look upon them as a fierce, irascible and revengeful race, not easily to be managed . . . They have a strange and noxious custom, a kind of marriage-communism within the family. The wives of the brothers of one house are considered as common property. The children consequently are rather children of the family, or of the mother, than of the acknowledged father . . . Among the Coorgs the family property descends accordingly not so much from father to son, as from generation to generation, the eldest member acting as head of the house. . In former days there was another way, my informant told me, for contracting marriage, besides family agreement. Two young people of the same (district) Nāḍu, would see each other, and without asking counsel of parents or friends, agree upon a union for life. Such a covenant would be held sacred. Unfaithfulness in the case of such partners was a thing unheard of." Read also Mr. Lewis Rice's *Gazetteer of Coorg*, pp. 93, ff., 203, 218, 254. Compare Mr. Richter's *Ethnographical Compendium*, p. 2: "There can be no doubt that however varied the population of Coorg may be, the dominant tribe, the Coorgs, as well as the other Hindu castes and tribes of the country belong to the Dravidian race. . . .As to their physiognomy and bodily characteristics, essentially there seems to be no difference other than what may be accounted for by civilization and social institutions. The shape of their heads is clearly *meso-cephalic* and *orthognatus* with less or more prominent cheek-bones and oval or pointed faces." P. 3: "As to traditional habits and customs amongst the people of Coorg there is a groat similitude to the usages among the other Dravidian races, modified of course by the difference of climate and civilizing influences." P.19: . . The Coorgs or *Kodagas*, as they are properly called, are the principal inhabitants of the country, and from time immemorial the lords of the soil. For the last two centuries they are known as a compact body of mountaineers who resemble more a Scotch clan than a Hindu caste. . . However, the peculiar character attached to them is doubtless the result of physical and political circumstances in which they were placed. They are a tribe more from position than genealogy and cannot be said to be of distinct origin. In the Hindu scale they are considered as Sudras. By the force of local circumstances they became like other pre-Aryan hill tribes hunters and warriors and were brought into historical prominence through the chivalrous exploits of their Raja Dodda Verajender in his struggle with Tippu Sultan for independence and his alliance with the English, and again through the insane hostility of the last Raja and the short invasion and annexation of the country by the English in 1834. Now the Coorgs are peaceful agriculturists and chiefly fill the offices of the local administration and

of the Koṛaga when he encounters a stranger in his jungles. The Koḍaga has a comparatively fair complexion, while the skin of the Koṛaga is black; the former delights to cover himself with handsome clothes, the latter prefers rags or a state bordering on nudity; while the Koṛaga woman is even contented with a partial covering of interwoven leaves. In spite of his poverty and wretchedness, the Koṛaga is a contented man and lives happy and contented so long as nobody interferes with him, and of course so long as he can satisfy his hunger and thirst. He likes meat and is fond of spirits. The dead are buried according to Mr. N. Raghavendra Row, but burnt according to Dr. Francis Buchanan. Mr. N. Raghavendra Row asserts that the

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owe their notable position to the special favor of the British Government. Their presumption to be of *Kshatria* or *Rajput* descent may flatter their natural pride, but has not the slightest foundation in history or tradition, or in the evidence derived from their language or social and religious institutions and customs. Lieutenant Connor, whose professional duties brought him into daily intercourse with them for a period of two years, 1815-1817, enjoyed the most favorable opportunities to form an unbiassed opinion of the Coorgs before any European influence had affected their habits and social position. He rejects the supposition of their being a division of the *Nairs* as having 'no pretension to rank with the higher classes of the *Soodra* tribe.'" P. 38: "The Coorgs are generally charged with the practice of polyandry, and Lieutenant Connor writes of the custom as an undoubted fact, the reason for which he fails to see. He states, 'The Codugus generally marry after the age of puberty, the nuptials of the eldest brother are first celebrated, and the lady in all cases yields a consent to become the wife of the younger ones, who, when circumstances will permit, are married successively, their spouses being in turn not less accommodating.' Upon a careful and confidential examination of the matter, I have come to the conclusion that, whatever may have been the custom of bygone ages, or whatever form it may have assumed,—Thornton in his history of the British Empire alluding to the marriage laws of the Coorgs, called it 'communism of wives'—there is no such thing now practised amongst the Coorgs as a 'general usage.'" P. 42: "Regarding the *religion* of the Coorgs the general statement already given needs some special remarks. Considering their intimate connection with local and neighbouring castes and tribes, it is but natural that their religious practices, which originally stood on the same level with those of the *Holeyas*, viz., demon and ancestor worship, have been much influenced by Malayalim, Tulu, Kanarese, Brahmanical and Lingayet superstitions. Malayalis have made themselves indispensable at demon and ancestor worship; Tulus have smuggled in their demons and are in requisition as *pujaris;* Mysoreans at certain times of the year carry *Mari Amma* shrines through the country to

Koraga does not like to volunteer any information about his language. "He may be induced to give an account of "his feasts, his god, and his family, but a word about his "dialect will frighten him out of his wits. At that moment "alone, he will become impolite and unmannerly. He "thinks his dialect is a shield in his hand and cannot "be parted with, and therefore keeps it as a sacred secret. "But good words and kind treatment can do something. "A few words that have been gathered with great difficulty "resemble those of the Keikadi and Naikunde Gondi tribes "of Nagpore." The unwillingness of the Soppina Koragas to give information concerning their language is also mentioned in the *Memoirs of the Origin of Slaves.*[62]

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have the people's vows paid to them; the Brahmans who are domiciled in Coorg have succeeded in introducing *Mahádeva* and *Subrahmanya*, in entirely brahmanizing the worship of the river Kavéri, in having temples erected and idols set up, in spreading puranic tales, and in usurping to some extent the *puja* at the places of the worship. They have been greatly assisted in these successful endeavours by the *Lingayets* and *Sivacharis*, especially in the introduction of the *Linga*. Christianity first presented to them by the Roman Catholic settlement in Virajendrapet since the days of Dodda Virajendra, and for the last 30 years offered to them by the agents of the Basel Mission... has made little progress." Read also Rev. F. Kittel's articles entitled *Coorg Superstitions*, *The Coorgs* and *Three Kongu Inscriptions* in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, pp. 168-171, 182, and vol. VI, pp. 99-103. The second article treats about the custom of polyandry. Compare Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, pp. 286-290.

According to the last census the number of Amma Kodagas amounted to 475 and that of the other Kodagas to 26,538 souls.

[62] See Mr. Ullal Raghavendra Rao's account on the Koragas of Canara. I have not been able to obtain a copy of the original lecture. It has been reprinted two years ago in the May number 1886 of the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, it is also *in extenso* quoted in the *Madras Census Report* of 1871, vol. I, pp. 343-345, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, pp. 195-199, and in Mr. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. III, pp. 206-210. "With a black face, forehead of moderate size, and strong body, all bespeaking contentment, *the Koragar* is separated from the rest of mankind,—alien in dress, in manners, customs and dialect. Uneducated and illiterate as he is, in his circle virtue thrives as in her proper soil. . . He has a god, and him he knows to love—him he knows to pray to, however incoherent his language be. Lying, stealing, adultery, and other social evils, he knows not. He has never appeared in a court of justice as defendant in a suit. He does drink toddy, it is true. . He does eat flesh. On what else should he live, while we have denied him every means of subsistence. ? . The Koragar, born

Little is known about their former history. The Koṛagas are now treated like Pariahs, though according to tradition they also were once a governing race. Dr. Francis Buchanan states that: "*Hubushica*, chief of the savages

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as a slave, is richly content with his ignorance, with his *koppu*, and with his squalid poverty. Ambition finds in him no place. He eats but the rotten flesh of the dead cattle. He clothes himself but with rags... The dress of the Koragar does not greatly differ from that which the lower classes, such as the *Billawars*, make use of during their daily labour, the only point of difference is, that the poverty of the Koragar does not allow him to replace the narrow piece of threadbare cloth, little better than a rag, by a more recent suit of clothes on festive occasions; while the other classes invariably reserve some sort of finery for gala days. The dress of the females, however, is very peculiar. While the males gird a piece of cloth around their loins, the females cover their waist with the leaves of the forest interwoven together. The custom of their nudity is attributed to different reasons; and a tradition, which has been handed down to posterity among the upper classes, who boast of the glory of the past, is hardly worthy of belief... One of these 'blacklegged' (the usual expression by which they are referred to during the night) demanded a girl of high birth in marriage. Being enraged at this, the upper class withheld, after the overthrow of the Koraga empire, every kind of dress from the Koraga women, who, to protect themselves from disgrace, have since had recourse to the leaves of the forest . . .Within his own circle, he has three divisions: 1. *The Ande Koragars.*—These are described as having a pot suspended from their neck. This class, which is the lowest, has been rarely seen since the establishment of British rule in Canara. They were considered so unholy, that they were not allowed to this on the public way; and, consequently, the pot was worn for this purpose. 2. *The Vastra Koragars.*—This appellation has reference to their wearing clothes such as were used to shroud a dead body and were given to them in the shape of charity, the use of a new cloth being prohibited. 3. *The Sappu Koragars.*—These Koragars are such as we now generally see, wearing leaves for clothes. These three divisions are named simply after their different kinds of dress." (This extract is from M. Sherring's vol. III, and the following partly also from the *Indian Antiquary.*)

"When a Koragar dies, as a matter of simple duty, reference is made to his landlord, and with his permission the deceased is buried in a place consecrated for the purpose, and in his honour four balls of rice are made and placed on the grave, which must be done within twelve months from the date of his death. Koragars were, it is said, originally worshippers of the sun... They have no separate temple for their god; but a place beneath a Kâsarkana tree is consecrated for the worship of their deity, which is exclusively their own, and is called *Kata*. . . The Koragars have no fixed feasts exclusively their own. Now, while liberty shines throughout the world under this Christian Government, slavery still lurks in those darkest corners where the rays of education have yet to penetrate. The *Koragars* and *Holeyas* are victims to this vestige of past despotism. The ceremony

"called *Coragoru*, or *Corar*, governed 12 years, till Kali-"yugam 2657. *Locaditya Raya*, son of Myuru Varma, "expelled the *Coragoru*, and governed Tulava, Malayala, "and Haiga 21 years, till Kaliyugam 2678." [63]

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of buying a slave needs a little explanation. The destined slave is washed, and anointed with oil, and new clothes are given him. The master takes a *batlu*, or plate, pours some water in it, and drops in it a piece of gold. The slave drinks up the water, and taking some earth from his future master's estate, throws it on the spot which he has chosen for his use, which is thereupon given to him with the trees thereon. The greater number of slaves belong to the Aliya Santanam castes, and among these people a male slave is sold for three Bhaudry pagodas, and a female slave for five pagodas; whereas the few slaves who follow the Makkala Santanam custom, fetch five pagodas for the man, and only three for the woman. This is because the children of the latter go to the husband's master, while those of the Aliya Santanam slaves go to the mother's master, who also has the benefit of the husband's services."

In the *Memoirs of the Origin of Slaves* of Ramappa Karnik of Barkur, which I quoted on p. 132 in note 50, p. 135, note 53, and on p. 146 concerning the language of the Soppu Koragar, contain also other interesting remarks on the Koragas on pp. 23, 24, 32, 33, 34, 35. In 11: "Mirars, Kappata Koragars, Soppu Koragars and those, who are aborigines of Ghauts feed upon carrion or carcasses of oxen, cows, calves, buffaloes and other cattle. Females of Soppu Koragars alone wear leaves of trees. . . Kappata Koragars and Soppu Koragars do wicker-work, sell hides to shoe-makers and secure remnants of food of all higher classes except the subdivided Chandalas. Soppu Koragars also beat drum during buffalo race and other occasions. . . Among the Soppu Koragars, male guests of their caste bring degradation upon them if they enter after sun-set a hut occupied by a single woman. The females of this class, failing to wear leaves, bring disrepute to the whole class."

[63] Compare *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, by Francis Buchanan, M.D., second edition, Madras, vol. II, p. 269, and pp. 271, 272: "Having assembled some of the *Corar*, or *Corawar*, who under their chief *Hubashica* are said to have once been masters of *Tulava*, I found, that they are now all slaves, and have lost every tradition of their former power. Their language differs considerably from that of any other tribe in the peninsula. When their masters choose to employ them, they get one meal of victuals, and the men have daily one *Hany* of rice, and the women three-quarters of a *Hany*. This is a very good allowance; but, when the master has no use for their labour, they must support themselves as well as they can. This they endeavour to do by making *Coir*, or rope from coco-nut husks, various kinds of baskets from *Ratans* and climbing plants, and mud walls. They pick up the scraps and offals of other people's meals, and skin dead oxen, and dress the hides. They build their huts near towns or villages. Their dress is very simple, and consists in general of a girdle, in which they stick a bunch of grass before, and another

The same incident is mentioned in the following manner in the MS. of the yet unprinted "Geography and History of Canara" compiled by the late Mr. William Lavie, an official of South Kanara, during the years 1830 to 1841: "About "900 years or more before Christ (but we must not be too "particular about dates) Hoobashee brought an army from "Anantapur consisting of the Berar, Mundale, Karamāra, "Mailla, Holeya, Ande Koraga; with these troops, whom "Buchanan calls savages, Hoobashee marched against "Angara Varma, the son of Veera Varma. They first came "to Barkūr and from thence proceeded to Mangalore, where "they were seized with the small-pox, and greatly troubled "by the ants. Subsequently they went to the south-"ward of Manjeshwar. Here Hoobashee established his "capital, and put his nephew Siddha Bhyru on the throne "in lieu of Veera Varma. He reigned only twelve years, "and then both he and Hoobashee died, owing to the en-"chantments used by Veera Varma who went to Banwāsee "in Sonda for that very purpose. After their deaths, Veera "Varma returned and drove the aforesaid army into the

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behind. Some of the men have a fragment of cloth round their waist; but very few of the women ever procure this covering. They are not, however, without many ornaments of beads, and the like; and even when possessed of some wealth, do not alter their rude dress. Some few of them are permitted to rent lands as *Gaynigaras*. In spite of this wretched life, they are a good looking people, and therefore probably are abundantly fed. They have no hereditary chiefs, and disputes among them are settled by assemblies of the people. If they can get them, they take several wives; and the women are marriageable both before and after puberty, and during widowhood. They will not marry a woman of any other caste; and they are considered of so base an origin, that a man of any other caste, who cohabits with one of their women, is inevitably excommunicated and afterwards not even a *Corar* will admit his society. The marriages are indissoluble, and a woman who commits adultery is only flogged. Her paramour, if he be a *Corar*, is fined. The master pays the expense of the marriage feast. When a man dies, his wives, with all their children, return to the huts of their respective mothers and brothers, and belong to their masters. They will eat the offals of any other caste, and can eat beef, carrion, tigers, crows, and other impure things; they reject, however, dogs and snakes. They can lawfully drink intoxicating liquors. They burn the dead, and seem to know nothing of

"jungles where they were driven to such extremities that "they consented to become slaves and serve under the former "landlords. The way in which this was done was as follows: "After washing and anointing the body with oil, new cloths "were put on the destined slave, and his future owner having "taken a *Batlu* or plate, poured some water on it and dropt "in a piece of gold. After which the slave drank up the "water. The slave then took up some earth from his future "master's estate and threw it on such a spot as he chose for "his house and garden which was accordingly given over to "him with all the trees thereon. The Karamāra were set "to watch the crops and cattle belonging to the village. "The head-men who had been appointed by Hoobashee to "the most responsible posts under his nephew's government "were taken naked towards the sea in order to be hung "there, but being ashamed of their naked state they gathered "the leaves of the Necky gida (ನೆಕ್ಕಿ ಗಿಡ), five-leaved trees, and "made a small covering for themselves in front. Thereupon "their conductors took pity on them and let them go, since "which they have continued to wear no other covering than "the leaves of the said tree."[64]

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a state of future existence, nor do they believe in *Paisachi*, or evil spirits. Their deity is called *Buta*, and is represented by a stone, which is kept in a square surrounded by a wall. To this stone, in all cases of sickness, they sacrifice fowls or make offerings of fruit or grain, and every man offers his own worship (*Pūja*); so that they have no officiating priest, and they acknowledge the authority of no *Guru*. They follow all the oxen and buffaloes of the village, as so much of the live stock, when they are driven in procession at a great festival which the farmers annually celebrate."

[64] I copied this extract from a MS. copy of Mr. Lavie's *Geography and History of Canara* kindly lent to me by Mr. J. Sturrock, Collector of South Canara, and it occurs there on pp. 21, 22. Mr. Lavie says about it: "29. The following traditionary account of the Dhērs I quote in full from a Canarese paper obligingly furnished to me by a respectable native." This extract is also contained in a note to the *Memoirs of the Origin of Slaves* by Ramappa Karnic of Barkur, a friend of Dr. Buchanan. These memoirs were translated by Mr. Joseph Saldanha, Sheristadar of Mangalore, and published by Dr. John Shortt in the IV Part of *The Hill Ranges of Southern India*. The MS. copy of these Memoirs and the print of Dr. Shortt (on p. 19) acknowledge Lavie's *Geography and History of Canara* as their original

In the English translation of Rāmappa's *Memoirs of the Slaves*, Hoobashee is always called Hubashika, and the Karamāras are called Mārimans or Kappatu Koragas.

We read also in this memoir that Hubaṣika, king of the Caṇḍālas, subdued king Lōkādirāya, that the king Candrasēna, in order to get rid of Hubaṣika, proposed to him that he should marry Candrasēna's sister, and when Hubaṣika with his chief followers came, the guests were treacherously assailed and either massacred or enslaved.[65]

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source. The following account is reprinted from *The Koragars* by Mr. Ullal Raghavendra Rao from the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 196: "The following tradition gives us a very faint idea of their rule:—

"About 900 years or more B.C. (but we must not be too particular about dates), the *Habashi* brought an army from Anantapur, consisting of the Birar, Mundal, Karmara, Maila, Holeya, Ande Koraga; with these troops, whom the learned Dr. Buchanan calls savages, the Habashi marched against *Angara Varma*, the son of Vira Varma. They first came to *Barkur*, and from thence proceeded to *Mangalur*, where they were attacked by small-pox, and greatly troubled by ants. They went to the southward of *Manjesvar*. There the *Habashi* established his capital, and put his nephew *Sidda Bairu* on the throne in lieu of Vira Varma. He reigned only twelve years, and then both he and the Habashi died, owing to the enchantments used by *Vira Varma*, who went to *Banawasi* in Sonda for that very purpose. After their death *Vira Varma* returned, and drove the aforesaid army into the jungles, where they were pursued to such extremities that they consented to become slaves and serve under the former landlords. The *Karmara* was sent to watch the crops and cattle belonging to the village. The headmen who had been appointed by the Hubashi to the most responsible posts under his nephew's government were taken naked to the seashore in order to be hanged, but, being ashamed of their naked state, they gathered the leaves of the *Nekki gida* and made a small covering for themselves. Thereupon their conductors took pity on them, and let them go, since which they have, it is said, continued to wear no other covering than the leaves of the said tree."

The Koragars have been republished in the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, vol. III, pp. 824, 833. The contents of the nine lines (beginning with "The way in which," and ending with "all the trees thereon," concerning the ceremony of buying a slave) are omitted in this extract, and are found in another extract reprinted at the top of p. 148 in note 62.

The passage on p. 197 beginning with: "Although these slaves are in a degraded position" and ending with: "They are also mortgaged for three or four pagodas," forms verbatim part of § 30 on p. 23 of Mr. Lavie's MS. It is found in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* on pages 828, 829. Mr. Lavie resigned the service in 1848 and died in England in 1861.

[65] The *Locaditya Raya* of Buchanan is called *Lokadiraya* by Ramappa Karnic of Barkur, in whose *Memoirs of the Origin of Slaves* in Dr. Shortt's *Hill Ranges*, Part IV, pp. 18 and 19, we read: "Formerly, a hero by name Hubashika

What makes this tradition so interesting is that it connects Hubaṣika with the Kadambas; for Candrasēna, the ruler of the Tuluva country, was a kinsman of Trinētra Kadamba. Trinētra is a favorite name in this dynasty. Candrasēna had a son Lōkāditya, who married a daughter of Trinētra Kadamba. The daughter of this Lōkāditya and of the Kadamba princess Kanakāvatī was asked in marriage by Hubaṣika, the king of the Caṇḍalas. Lōkāditya pretended to favour the suit, and invited the intended bridegroom to his capital Tripura to celebrate the marriage. Shortly after his arrival Hubaṣika and his retinue were treacherously assailed and massacred by the soldiers of Lōkāditya and Trinētra.

These accounts differ very considerably. According to some Hubaṣika died owing to the enchantments of Vīra Varma, according to others he was killed by Lōkāditya, to

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became famous amongst the Chandalas, subdued the king Lokadiraya and was ruling with his caste men. King Chendashena, with the view of getting rid of Hubashika, proposed a marriage between Hubashika and Chendasena's sister, and invited the bridegroom and his caste men to the nuptials. The invitation being complied with, a wholesale massacre of the guests ensued, many fell victims to the plot, a few escaped, others were imprisoned and made over to Brahmans to be employed in tilling their lands. As the captives belonged to the camp of the enemy, it was declared that the Chandalas should be punished by their respective masters for faults committed by them; that they should for ever remain under subordination to others; that they should possess no authority whatever; and that they should be allowed only the daily ratio of food rather than permit them to have at their disposal, the previous day, means for providing themselves with the necessaries of the next day. Thus doomed to bondage for ever, the Chandalas were transferred along with the lands to the subsequent Nādavar and Brahman purchasers . . Those who had escaped during the aforesaid crisis had returned home, pursued their avocations and lived an independent life . . The Soppu Koragars also appear to have been in some localities attached to land and in others to have enjoyed liberty."

With respect to the Kadambas the main printed information so far as the subject concerns us here is contained in H. H. Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, Introduction, pp. lix, l, ci-ciii, 95-97 (new edition, pp. 36, 60, 62, 149, 150).

I have consulted the MSS. in the Government Oriental MSS. Library on which are mostly founded the conclusions of Wilson. Read also Mr. L. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. I, pp. 194, 195.

whom Buchanan ascribed the expulsion of the Koṛagas after the death of Hubaṣika. The relationship of the Kadamba princes is also given differently; still these contradictions need not invalidate the main part of the tradition concerning Hubaṣika.

If we could recognise in this prince a real historical personage, an important step would have been gained towards fixing the period of these events. The life of the first Trinētra Kadamba is placed by some at the beginning of the second century A.D., and this is the very period which the coins supply concerning the reign of *Huviṣka* or Hooerkes, king of the Korano, who would have been thus a contemporary of Hubaṣika, king of the Koṛagas.

The mighty Scythian king *Kadphises* II was succeeded in North-Western India by king *Kaniṣka* or Kanerkes, who initiated in A.D. 78 the Śaka Era, as has been first suggested by the late Mr. James Fergusson. Kaniṣka or Kanerkes was followed in his reign about 110 A.D. by Huviṣka or Hooerkes. The latter forms prevail on the coins, while the records contain the former. The Korano or Kuṣan are identical with the *Yueh-chi*, the Chinese name of this tribe, commonly known to us as Indo-Scythians.

The Gauda-Dravidian race, as I have repeatedly pointed out, was not confined to India, some of its branches having remained on the northern frontier of the Indian continent. The invasion by the Korano can thus be appropriately explained as an inroad into India made by a kindred tribe, and leads to the suggestion that *Hubaṣika*, king of the Koṛagas, may be identified with Huviṣka, king of the Korano or Kuṣan. As Huviṣka's reign falls in the first half of the second century A.D., the period of Hubaṣika's reported invasion will be fixed if Hubaṣika and Huviṣka are one and the same person.

Moreover, there are different kings of the name Trinētra among the Kadambas. The first Trinētra lived according

to native tradition early in the Kaliyuga, while H. H. Wilson places his reign in the second half of the second century A.D. *Mayūra Varma*, the *Myuru Varma* of Buchanan, either the third or the sixth king of this dynasty, had a son Trinētra Kadamba, also known as Kṣētra Varma and Candragada. He was the brother-in-law of Lōkāditya, the son of Candrasēna. Great confusion prevails in this matter.

The resemblance between the two names *Hubaṣika* and *Huviṣka* is so great, that one might suspect them to be identical. If this is the case, we must consider whether there existed only one or two or more kings of this same name. If only one king of this name ruled, his exploits must have been transferred to a subsequent period, in order to confer on the then reigning dynasty (in this circumstance on the race of the Kadambas [66]) the glory of having slain such a distinguished sovereign. If we can trace more than one ruler of the name of Huviṣka (Hubaṣika), the difficulty as to the date is removed. Yet, I feel inclined to assume that only one king of this name did exist, and that Hubaṣika's or Huviṣka's invasion is separated from Lōkāditya's reign by a long intervening period. The identity of the original Hubaṣika with Huviṣka will be of considerable historical interest, as it proves the great impression which the invasions of the Indo-Scythians made on the mind of the Indian people. The similarity between *Korano* and *Koraga*, the names of the tribes over whom Huviṣka and Hubaṣika respectively ruled, must also not be overlooked.

Mayūra Varma is credited with having introduced Brahmans to Kanara. His capital was Banavāsi, already mentioned by Ptolemy (VII, 1, 83) as *Βαναουασεί*.

The change of an *r* into a sibilant does not offer any philological difficulty, especially in Sanskrit, so that the forms *Kaniṣka* and *Huviṣka* require no particular explanation, if the original national pronounciation preferred an *r* and

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[66] See p. 240.

was Kanerkes and Hooerkes. Certain euphonic rules even necessitate the above-mentioned change in Sanskrit. The Gauda-Dravidian languages are not very strict in the use of the liquids *r* and *l*, and the letter *ḻ* is at times pronounced like an *l* or an *r*, and even, though faulty, like an *ṣ*.[67]

The Koṟagas, whom Buchanan calls *Corawar*, though treated like out-castes, yet acknowledge caste-distinctions among themselves. They are known as *Ande Koṟagas*, *Vastra Koṟagas* and *Soppu Koṟagas*. They are divided besides into five tribes. The names of two of these are lost. The others are called *Bangaranna*, *Kumaranna*, and *Mungaranna*.

I explain the word Koṟaga in the same manner as Koḍaga, both names being derivatives of *ko*, mountain. Dr. Francis Buchanan calls the Koṟagas, as above men-

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[67] About these rulers and especially about *Huviṣka* or Hooerkes, compare besides other writings the *Catalogue of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum* by Percy Gardner, LL.D., edited by Reginald S. Poole, LL.D., Introduction, pp. xlix-li: "The evidence derived from the style and epigraphy of coins seems to show that Kadphises I. and Kadaphes ruled but a part of North-West India. When Kadphises came in as an invader from the north, he found Hermaeus ruling in the Kabul Valley, and reduced him to a state of dependence . . . The Yueh-chi did not rapidly extend their dominion in India . . Only on the accession of the second Kadphises did the power of the invaders become altogether predominant . . Kadphises II., Ooemo Kadphises, was a wealthy monarch, and the founder of a powerful line of Scythic kings, as to whom inscriptions give us some information. His date is about the middle of the first century A.D. His successors are the kings called on their coins Kanerkes and Hooerkes, and in the records Kanishka and Huvishka. Their rule comprised the whole of North-West India and the Kabul Valley." See further pp. 129, 158, 175; H. H. Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 5, 9, 347-377; *The Archæological Survey of India* by Sir Alexander Cunningham, vol. II, p. 238; vol. II, pp. 10, 43, 44, 63-70, 88, 159, 162, 168; vol. III, pp. 30, 32; vol. V, p. 57; vol. XIV, p. 53; vol. XVI, Pref., P. IV; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, pp. 217-19; vol. X, pp. 213, 216; vol. XVII contains the article on "Zoroastian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins" by M. Aurel Stein, Ph.D., to which I wish to draw attention, though I cannot as yet see my way to agree with him in his, at all events, ingenious conjecture of identifying the Greek P which he himself pronounces repeatedly *r* with the sibilant ṣ.

The *Banavasei* (Βανααύσει and Βαναουασεί) of Ptolemy has been differently explained. Some take it for *Kundapur*, others for Koṅkaṇapura, Kōkanūr and Ānegundi. See Mr. T. W. McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 179.

tioned, also *Corawar.* The *Koṛavas* or *Koṛamas*, mountaineers, are indeed a tribe widely spread in Southern India. They are identical with the Kuṛuvas, of whom I shall speak later on. To the mountain climbing *Malaca*, whom I noticed in Part I on p. 49, correspond the terms *Koṛaca*, *Korca* and *Korsa* unless they are taken as modifications of Koṛava. We find these people especially in the Kanarese districts. They are well known as basket-makers.[68]

The Todas.

The Todas or Tudas, as these pastoral rulers of the Blue Mountains, or *Nīlagiri* of South India, are generally called, have to a certain extent baffled all inquiries concerning their origin. But there is no doubt that they belong to the Gaudian branch of the Gauda-Dravidian group. The supposition that the Todas are connected with the African *Ethiopian* has, I think, no foundation whatever.[69]

The question whether they are aborigines of, or immigrants into, the country they at present inhabit, has been much discussed. The probability is that, according to their traditions, they left their original abodes and settled on the Nīlagiri mountain range; but the time when this migration actually took place is shrouded in mystery. Yet, even if they ascended from the plains to the Nīlagiri hills, this circumstance does not militate against the fact that originally in their old homes they were mountaineers. At all events very many centuries must have elapsed since their settlement on the Nīlagiri. They possess, so far as we can ascertain, no trustworthy traditions, no inscriptions, nor any literature concerning their ancient history.

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68 See p. 73.

69 See Lieutenant-Colonel W. E. Marshall's *A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, p. 4: "There is much of tho 'blameless Ethiopian' about them: something of the Jew and of the Chaldaean in their appearance." "On tho eve of sending this work to tho press, I would beg again to urge my belief in the connection between the Dravidian Toda and the Ethiop."

The Todas are divided into five clans, namely: Paiki, Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna and Todi. We meet the term *Paiki* again among the *Hale-paikis* of Naga, and the *Kumāra-paikas* of North Kanara, who make toddy-drawing their chief occupation. The Hale-paikis of Manjarabad are called *Dēvara makkaḻu* or children of God, and the Paikis who take the lead among the Todas, for from them the Pālāḻ or high-priest is chosen, call themselves also *Dēr mokh*, or children of God.[70]

The derivation of *Paiki* is obscure; can it be connected with the Telugu postposition *pai*, above?

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[70] In *The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, Mangalore, 1864, the Rev. F. Metz says on p. 14: "At what period the Todas first came to and settled upon the Neilgherries, we have no means of ascertaining; for they have no literature, nor any inscriptions, and such of their traditions as I have hitherto heard them mention afford no clue whatever by which this mystery can be unravelled. From their legends, and some particular words contained in their language, I am led to think that, prior to migrating to these Hills, they must, perhaps for centuries, have inhabited a range lying to the North-East, in the direction of Hassanoor, beyond the Gazelhutty pass. Part of the tribe appears to have settled in a northern direction near Collegal; for I am frequently pressed to go and visit them and bring back intelligence respecting their condition in life; prosperity with the Todas, as in patriarchal times, consisting in the number and extent of their heads." See also *An Account of the Tribes on the Neilgherries*, by J. Shortt, M.D., Madras, 1868, pp. 4-42. On p. 4 he writes: "Todawars, or Torawurs, who are reputed to be the aborigines, and, it is said, were once clad in leaves and roamed as free and unrestrained lords of the soil, leading a pastoral nomadic life. . . Todawars, or Torawurs—the literal name given to herdsmen in the Tamil language—are the principal tribe, and are believed to be the original inhabitants, as well as the territorial sovereigns of these Hill tracts. Not only do the Todars themselves claim this priority of existence and possession, but the right is conceded to them by the other Hill tribes, who, in recognition of it, always paid a tribute to their Toda lords, consisting of one-sixth of the produce in kind; but, under the British Government, this practice is being gradually discontinued. . . The Toda or Thoddur tribe consists of five distinct intersections or sub-divisions, namely (1) Peiky; (2) Pekkan; (3) Kuttan; (4) Kenna; and (5) Tody. . . (On p. 7.) The Todawars are entirely a pastoral race, and lead a peaceful tranquil life, chiefly employed in tending their cattle. They carry no weapon of offence or defence for protection against enemies of their own kind or wild beasts, except a cowherd's wand or staff, which is made of jungle wood generally, about 4½ feet long with a large knob or head." Compare further *ibidem* a *Geographical and Statistical Memoir of a Survey on the Neilgherry Mountains*, by Captain J. Ouchterlony, 1847, pp. 51-52: "This remarkable race differs in almost every essential respect from all other tribes of the

They also do not show much interest in the old cairns, kistvains, sepulchral structures, and other remains that are found scattered all over these mountains, though they claim some as their own. It is, therefore, still a matter of some doubt whether these relics ought to be assigned to them in preference to the Kuṛumbas, who may perhaps have a more legitimate title to their possession. From many indications it would appear that the people who erected these stone buildings must have been agriculturists. The Todas, on the

natives of Hindustan, and their singular characteristics and strange habits have given rise to much speculation as to their origin and history. As no clue has however yet been discovered either in the form of monuments, coins, or even in their own traditions, by which research could be directed, all theories broached upon the subject cannot be otherwise than vain and illusory, especially those which have been based upon the assumption that the images, bones, and other relics which are found in the remarkable 'cairns,' discovered in such numbers all over the Hills, belonged to the ancestors of the Todars. . . (On p. 63.) Their occupation is purely pastoral; their only manual labor being the milking of the buffaloes, and converting portions of their milk into butter and ghee." Consult *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nīlagiris*, by the late James Wilkinson Breeks, edited by his widow; London, 1873, pp. 26 and 27: "The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the daily-used implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now. This view is in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate samber flesh, and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it; and by the fact that they still recognise, and make offerings to, a hunting God under the name of Bētikhān, who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambilicotē beyond Gudalūr, is, they say, the son of their ancestor, Dirkish. The question then arises: how, and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas?. . The answer could seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel Ouchterlony, viz.—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas lived only by their herds, and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas *pútkuli*, *tharp*, *kōnu*, *&c.*, are among the few Toda words which Mr. Metz can trace to no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins: however, the story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills, the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too intermittent and insignificant to be depended on for subsistence. Probably they were then expert in the use of the bow." Read further *A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, by

other hand, are now shepherds, and lead a simple pastoral and nomadic life. They do not devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil, an occupation which the Badagas, who immigrated at a later period, especially follow. Yet the assumption that the Todas have always led a pastoral life, if substantiated, seems to speak against the connection of the Todas with such structures. However, it is quite possible that the sickles found in the cairns may have been used for other than agricultural purposes.[71]

Lieutenant-Colonel William E. Marshall, London, 1873, pp. 2–8 and 136, and *A Manual of the Nīlagiri District*, by H. B. Grigg, Madras, 1880, pp. 183-202. Compare about the *Paiki* Mr. Lewis Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, Introduction, pp. xxxiii, xxxiv, and Metz, p. 35.

[71] See Rev. F. Metz, *ibidem*, p. 13 : "Some few of the Todas maintain that the cairns are the work of their ancestors, but these are men who have been examined by Europeans. The majority, and especially the most respectable of them, do not hold this opinion, and it would be a strange anomaly indeed in a people so proverbial for their respect for the dead, to allow, as the Todas do, these places of interment to be rudely disturbed and desecrated by the hands of strangers, did they believe them to be the receptacles of the ashes of their forefathers. Many of the circles constructed of loose stones which have been taken to be deserted temples of this tribe, were doubtless nothing more than buffalo-pens." And on p. 124 : "During the 13 years that I have labored amongst and mixed with the hill-tribes, I have never found the Todas in any way interested in the cairns, whilst the fact of their making no objectiou to their being opened, taken in connection with the circumstance of the contents frequently consisting of plough-shares, sickles and other implements of husbandry, showing that the cairns were constructed by an agricultural race, which the Todas never were, are to me convincing proofs that they are not the work of the Todas of a past generation." The Rev. Mr. Metz states that such kist-vains are called *Mōriaru mane*, house of the *Mōrias*, and recognises in the latter the Mauryas or Usbeck Tatars. Is it perhaps possible to connect the term *Mōriaru* with the Mar tribe? Peculiarly enough *Mēr* is the Toda expression for the Kūndahs, as in the Toda name *Mērkōkāl* for Kotagiri, *i.e.*, the Kota village (Kōkāl) of the Kūndahs, see Breeks, p. 36. Compare Captain Congreve's article: *The Antiquities of the Neilgherry Hills*, including an Inquiry into the Descent of the *Thautavars or Todars*, in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1847, vol. XIV, No. 32, pp. 77-146. Lieutenant-Colonel Congreve contends that the Todas were the constructors of the old cairns and he gives on pp. 84, 85 his reasons for it : "1st. The shape of the cairns: a Circle of stones similar to that of the cemeteries of the Thautawars at this day. 2nd. The basins and other utensils, knives, arrow-heads, shreds of cloth, mingled with charcoal and bones found in the cairns are precisely the same articles buried at the funeral of a modern Thautawar. 3rd. In both cases these things are deposited

Some of their legends connect the Todas with the Rākṣasa king *Rāvaṇa*, others with his great antagonist, *Rāma*. The ancestors of the Todas are said to have been the palanquin bearers of Rāvaṇa; if so, they belong to the Gauda-Dravi-

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in holes under large slabs in the middle of the cemeteries. 4th. The numerous figures of buffaloes, some with bells round their necks, made of pottery, found in the cairns are monuments of the antiquity of the Thautawar custom of sacrificing buffaloes decorated with bells at funerals. 5th. In every case I have observed a Thautawar village situated contiguously to the cairn, manifesting some connection. 6th. The Thautawars claim to be the original proprietors of the land, a claim acknowledged by the English, as well as the Native inhabitants of the Hills. 7th. The prevailing opinion amongst the latter that these cairns belonged to the early Thautawar people. 8th. The absence of any inscription on any of the vessels dug out of the cairns, considered with reference to the fact of the Thautawars having no written language. 9th. The circumstance of some lascars attempting to open a cairn in search of treasure being compelled to desist in their enterprize by the Thautawars of an adjoining village." Dr. Shortt, in the article above mentioned, says on p. 45: "The Todas themselves attribute the cairns found on the Neilgherries, sometimes to a people who preceded them, at others to the Kurumbas, and that they formed their burial places . . . It is generally believed by the Natives that these cairns and cromlechs are the work of the followers of the Pandean Kings, and that they at one time ruled on the Neilgherries also. The Todas and Badagas likewise believe this, while some of them attribute them to the Kurumbas. The Rev. Mr. Metz is also of the latter opinion, and I am inclined to coincide with this gentleman." See also J. W. Breeks' *Primitive Tribes of the Nīlagiris*, pp. 72–110; p. 95: "The Peranganād cairns, lying between Kotagherry and Kodanād, differ less from those at Tunēri; the figures are generally smaller and rougher, and the colour darker, but the urns are often very fine, with strong glaze of mica . . It is, however, remarkable that the rougher remains are found in the division in which lie the two (probably) oldest Toda mands, and the only cairns claimed by the Todas.. (On p. 96.) At one time, they were generally assigned to the Todas; and Colonel Congreve wrote an elaborate essay to prove the Scythian origin of this people and their claim to the cairns. His large theories, and occasionally incorrect facts, discredited his cause rather unduly, and of late years the cairns have been generally attributed either to the Kurumbas or to an extinct race. Those who held these views, however, seem to have been unaware of, or to have overlooked, the significant fact that the Todas even now burn their dead in a circle of stones and bury the ashes there. Now, not only may the circle of stones be called the fundamental idea of cairns and barrows, but some of them consist of insignificant circles of stones, hardly to be distinguished from Toda *Āzārams* except by the trees or bushes which indicate their greater age... (On p. 97.) It will be seen that these old *Āzārams* (supposing them to be *Āzārams*), shew one or two marked points of approximation to the cairns. 1st. They prove that metal ornaments and objects

dian race, of whom Rāvaṇa was an ancient representative. This report is more likely to be true than that which describes them as Rāma's followers who eventually settled in the south.[72]

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of value were in old times actually buried by the Todas, instead of being, as now, only offered to the flames and taken away. 2nd. These objects include iron spears, chisels, and styles? at present unused by the Todas, but common in the cairns. The spears were of rather different shape from most of those figured. An old Toda, who had had possession of the spear of Kotēn, but professed to have lost it, told me that it was something like these, but longer. The style is very like some used in Malabar, hollow at the top; one cannot, however, imagine that *writing* was ever a Toda accomplishment; it may have been used for marking pottery. 3rd. The receptacle for the ashes and remains, instead of being indifferently placed at any side of the circle, was, in three cases out of four, at the north-east edge... (On p. 99.) Against the theory that the cairns belong to the Todas, it has been urged that they do not claim them. This is not strictly correct; they *do*, as has been shewn, claim some. But even if the statement were entirely true, it is not of much consequence with a people like Todas. I have known a Toda, while pointing out the *Āzāram* in which a funeral ceremony then going forward was to terminate, profess entire ignorance of the object of some other stone circles close at hand, obviously old *Āzārams* belonging to the same mand; so that their disclaimer of the cairns carries little weight. It has been further stated that the cairns contain agricultural implements, and must therefore have belonged to a comparatively civilized people. Except the curious shears, which may have been used for various purposes, the only agricultural implements which have appeared in these investigations are sickles. These may have been used for cutting grass and bushes, and it is singular that, although the Todas do not now use any tool of the kind, they burn with the dead the *Kafkatti*, a large curved knife, apparently intended for some such purpose, although, except in one instance, the cairn sickles are of different shape. The *Kafkatti*, when committed to the flames, is bound round with cotton cloth, traces of which are often found on the razors in the cairns. On the whole, I think it is more satisfactory to assign the cairns to the Todas than to an unknown race." Read also Mr. H. B. Grigg's *Manual of the Nīlagiri District*, pp. 229–247; about the origin of the remains, see p. 241; and about the sculptured cromlechs consult this passage: "As regards the third class of monuments, none of the present hill inhabitants of the Hills are capable of executing sculptures of even so elementary a degree of art as those on the cromlechs." Mr. M. J. Walhouse has in the third and fifth volumes of the *Indian Antiquary* written some articles on the funerals, &c., of the Todas, and in vol. VI., p. 41, he says: "At any rate it is clear that these circles (Āzārams) are claimed and formed by the Todas."

[72] See Captain A. Harkness's *Description of a singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills*, pp. 24, 25: "They have some tradition bearing reference to a period about the time of Ravan,

The Todas have five kinds of priests, of whom the *Pālāḷs* are held in the greatest sanctity. The Pālāḷs, who are five in number, belong to the highest class of the Todas and have charge of the sacred bells, which they carry to every *Mand* or hamlet. They subsist on the milk of the sacred herd, and have a *Kavalāḷ* as their attendant. The other priests of lower degree are the Varḷāḷ, Kokvali, Kurpuli and Pālikārpāḷ. The temples, which are of two kinds, are called *Boa* and *Pālci*, the former being sugarloaf-shaped and the latter like an ordinary house. There are, at present, only four Boas in existence; they may have originally belonged to some other race, as the Todas do not appear to hold them in very great respect, and their ministering priests belong only to the second rank.

The Todas have a large pantheon, but they revere particularly a hunting god called *Bētakan*, the son of Dirkish, the son of Ēn, the first Toda. His temple is at Nambalakōd, in the Wainād. Besides him they worship *Hiriadēva*, whose representative is the sacred buffalo-bell, which hangs from the neck of the finest buffalo of the sacred herd.[73] The buffalo is indigenous only in the south-east of Asia,

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when they say they inhabited the low country. One among these is that their forefathers were the subjects of Ravan, and that, being afterwards unable to bear the severities imposed on them by the successful Ravan, they fled to these mountains as a place of refuge, driving their herds before them, carrying their females and children on their shoulders, and vowing to wear no covering on their heads till they had wreaked their vengeance on their oppressors." Congreve, *loco citato*, p. 110, says on the contrary: "The Thautawars have a tradition that their ancestors were subjects of Ravannah with whom they fled before Ramah." About the legend of the Todas having been the palanquin bearers of Rāvana, see Mr. H. B. Grigg's *Manual*, pp. 202, 252 and 256. About their coming with Rāma consult the Rev. F. Metz, *ibidem*, p. 46: "The Brahmins of the plains maintain that the Todas were followers in the train of Rāma when he came from the North to avenge himself on Ravana and that desiring independence they deserted, and fled to the Hills; but of this tradition the Todas themselves know nothing"; read also p. 65; and Mr. Grigg's *Manual*, p. 258.

[73] Read Mr. J. W. Breeks' *Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nīlagiris*, pp. 13-17; and Mr. H. B. Grigg's *Manual*, pp. 192–196.

i.e., in South India, Burma and parts of China. It is not a native of the North-West. The most valuable property of the original inhabitants must have been formed by the herds of these animals, which were and are still highly esteemed and regarded worthy of carrying the symbol of the deity. The worship of the buffalo is a most striking feature and can only be traced to very ancient times. The buffalo figures also in *Māhiṣmatī*, a town founded by king *Mahiṣmat*, whose name implies that he was rich in buffaloes. The worship of the fire, or of *Agni*, prevailed here, and women were allowed unrestricted liberty in the choice of their husbands. The city was situated in the plateau south of the Gōdāvarī, most probably on a tributary of the Krishṇā. King *Nīla* of Dakṣiṇāpatha reigned here. He is mentioned as an ally of Duryōdhana, though he was killed in battle by the son of Drōṇa.[74] The people of king Nīla are called the *Māhiṣakas*, and are mentioned in the Ślōka previously to the *Kōlvagirēyas*, the inhabitants of *Kōlva* or *Kōlagiri*. This circumstance places the Māhiṣakas locally in proximity with the Gond tribes. Mysore or *Mahiṣāsura*, the country named according to tradition after the buffalo-shaped Asura Mahiṣa, may have been a part of king Nīla's empire. The Nīlagiri mountains and Mysore are conterminous. The name of the Asura *Mahiṣa* is in this case also used as representing the

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[74] Compare the *Udyōgaparva* XVIII, 23, 24 of the Mahābhārata:

Sa ca samprāpya Kauravyam tatraivāntardadhe tadā,
tathā Māhiṣmatīvāsī Nīlō Nīlāyudhais saha 23.
Mahīpātō mahāvīryair Dakṣiṇāpathavāsibhiḥ. 24.
and *ibidem*, Drōṇaparva XXXI, 24,25.
Sa plutaḥ syandanāt tasmān-Nīlaścarmavarāsibhṛt
Drauṇāyanēḥ śiraḥ kāyāddhartum aicchat patattrivat. 24.
Tasyōnnatāṁsam sunasam śiraḥ kāyāt sakuṇḍalam
Ballēnāpāharad-Drauṇiḥ smayamāna ivānagha. 25.

See Christian Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I, pp. 681–683 (or 567-569 in the first edition).

About the town *Mahiṣmatī* (Mahēśvara) on the Narmadā in Indore compare the article "Mahesvara in Mālwā" by Rāoji Vāsudeva Tullu, M.A., in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV. (1875), pp. 346–348.

people of the *Mahiṣas* or *Mahiṣakas*, a circumstance to which I have previously in Part I on p. 42 drawn attention in the case of the demons Bala, Malla and others.

The word *Mahiṣa* has when combined with the Marāthi *Bā* for *Bāpa*, father, assumed the form of *Mahsōbā*, and the demon Mahsōbā is to this day held in high veneration among the cultivators and the lower classes of the population. A stoneblock generally covered with red-lead colour and standing in a circle of other stones serves as his representative. The structure resembles in this respect the rude stones worshipped by the Kuṟumbas. Of these I shall speak later on. The worship of the buffalo to which the Todas still adhere is very interesting and may perhaps indicate the origin of this ancient tribe. Some Gond tribes also sacrifice the buffalo. This subject deserves to be fully enquired into.[75]

Like other primitive races of Turanian or Scythian origin, the Todas revere the great luminaries of the sky, the Sun and the Moon, besides the Fire. They have a very

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[75] Durgā or Bhavānī killed the buffalo-shaped Asura *Mahiṣa*, the well-known *Mahiṣāsura*, after whom Mysore is called.

According to the legend in the Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa *Diti* had lost all her sons, the Asuras, in the battle between the Gods and the Asuras. With the object to anihilate the Gods she assumed the shape of a buffalo, and underwent such dreadful austerities in order to propitiate Brahma, and to obtain a son, that the whole world was shaken in its foundations and what was worse, the sage Supārśva, was disturbed in his quiet hermitage. He therefore cursed Diti to bring forth a buffalo instead of a human-shaped son. Brahma mitigated this curse by confining the buffalo form to the head and allowing the remainder of the body to be like that of a man. This offspring was called Mahiṣāsura who defeated the gods and ill-treated them, till they appealed for help to Visṇu and Śiva, who jointly produced a beautiful representation of Bhavānī, the *Mahiṣāsuramardanī*, who slew the monster.

The *Gazetteer of Aurangabad* mentions *Mahsōbā* on pp. 347 and 358: "Mahishasura, who was slain by Parvati, and in honor of whom the feast of Dassura is celebrated, is probably Mahsoba, a demon much worshipped by the lower classes and especially by the cultivators, for the purpose of rendering their fields fertile. The image is like a natural Linga, consisting of any rounded stone of considerable size, found in the corner or to the side of a field. This when covered with red-lead becomes Mahsoba, to which prayers are addressed, and cocoanuts, fowls, and goats are offered (p. 347). . On the southern side of the Chauki pass, in the Lakenwāra range between Aurangabād and Phulmari, there is a shrine of Mahsoba, consisting of a

dim idea of the divine powers; they possess hardly any religious rites; but they firmly believe in the existence of a life after death, in a heaven for the good and a hell for the bad.

The ceremonies at births, marriages and funerals are very curious and have often been described. They burn their dead with the face downwards, a custom which prevails still among the aborigines of some parts of Central India. The Todas go always bareheaded, as also do the Khonds. The habit of polyandry peculiar to the Gauda-Dravidian race is also prevalent among the Todas.

The interest which this tribe has excited is mainly due to their fine and striking appearance so different from that of other races and to their dwelling in a most picturesque country. The Todas are regarded by the other hill tribes as the lords of the soil, and as such exact a tribute (*gūdu*) from them. How they obtained this supremacy is unknown, and the acquisition of their influence is the more remarkable, as, unless they have greatly changed since their first appearance, they are not a war-like race, and could not have forced their way into these hills with the aid of arms. The fact that the Todas enjoy this peaceful supremacy proves them to be very ancient, if not the aboriginal inhabitants of these Hills. The Todas are steadily decreasing in numbers and, according to the last census, numbered only 689. Their reputation as sorcerers stood them in good stead and perhaps frightened into submission those who might otherwise have molested them. The Todas alone among the hill tribes

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block of stone surrounded with smaller pieces, and all covered with red-lead. During the jatra which is held in the month of Chaitra, and lasts for four days, people of all castes, but especially the Kunbis, flock from a circle of a hundred miles, and offer many sheep in sacrifice."

The buffalo was the carrier of Yama, and he is therefore also known as *Mahiṣadhvaja* and *Mahiṣavāhana.* Skanda is known as *Mahiṣārdana*, and one of his Mâtṛis is called *Mahiṣānanā.* Mahiṣa or Māhiṣa, Mahiṣaka or Māhiṣaka are names of people. *Mahiṣasthalī* is the name of a place, *Māhisya* that of a mixed caste, and *Māhiṣika* besides meaning a herdsman is also used in the sense of a man who lives by the prostitution of his wife.—See p. 130.

are not afraid of the Kur̤umbas, who are generally shunned as wizards.

Very many conjectures have been ventured to explain the term *Toda* or *Tuda.* The *d* in this word is, according to Bishop Caldwell and the Rev. Mr. Metz, *dental* and not *lingual*, as the Rev. Dr. Pope is inclined to believe, for he spells it *Tuḍa.* Dr. Pope does so probably to support the derivation he proposes. He connects the name of the Toda with the Tamil word *Tōḻam*, herd, and derives from it a problematic word *Tōḻan*, in the sense of herdsman. The modern Tamil *Toḻu*, a fold for cattle, is the root of *Toḻuvam* which is again contracted into *Tōḻam.* *Tōḻuvar* signifies according to the dictionaries agriculturists, but the word *Tōḻar* in this meaning is not given. Besides, the *o* in Tōḻar is long, while that in Toda is short. Moreover, the people who keep these cattle-stalls are not herdsmen, but agriculturists. On the other hand the Todas are a pastoral, and not an agricultural tribe.[76]

Having met with no explanation which satisfies me, I venture to propose one myself. I believe that the *t* in Toda or Tuda is a modification of an original *k*, and that the real name is Koda or Kuda. This I explain as a derivation of

[76] See Dr. Winslow's *Tamil and English Dictionary*, p. 636, where *Toḻuvar* தொழுவர் is explained as agriculturists, மருதநிலமாக்கள். In Col. Marshall's *Phrenologist amongst the Todas* the first note on p. 1 is as follows: "Todan. Tamil, Toṛavam and Tōṛam = *a herd.* And thus Toṛavan or Tōṛan = *herdsman.* (Pope)." Compare Bishop Caldwell's Introduction *Comparative Dravidian Grammar*, p. 37: "Dr. Pope connects the name of the Todas with the Tamil word *Toṛa*, a herd; but the *d* of Tuda is not the lingual *d*, but the dental, which has no relationship to *ṛ* or *ḷ*. The derivation of the name may be regarded as at present unknown." The Rev. F. Kittel writes to the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 205: "In Part XXIX of the *Indian Antiquary*, p. 93 *seq.* the name of a well-known small tribe on the Nīlagiri is given as 'Toḍa.' The lingual ḍ in this word is not in the mouth of the Nīlagiri people, these pronouncing it 'Toda.' The same remark is to be applied to the word '*Kōṭa*' on p. 96; the true spelling of this name is '*Kōta.*' The word 'Toda' may mean 'man of the top,' scil. of the hills. 'Kōta' can be derived from various Drāviḍa roots; it is difficult to say what its true meaning is. Certainly it does not mean 'cow-killer,' as some have thought."

ko or *ku*, mountain and *Koda* or *Kuda* signifies then a mountaineer. The change of *k* into *t* is perhaps not very common, yet it takes place occasionally. The Tamil *kēḻ* to ask, is, *e.g.*, *tal* in Gondi; the Irula *kālage*, below, corresponds to *tāḻa* in Tamil and Malayālam; the Kurg *kidatu* and the Tamil *kiḻē*, below, is *tirt* in Tulu. The town *Kondōta*, mentioned by Ptolemy, is likewise called *Tondōta*, and the district *Khandesh* is also known as *Tandesh*. The same change can be observed in the middle of a word, as the Sanskrit *tilaka* frontal mark, becomes optionally *tilakam* and *tilatam* in Tamil, and *sāttvika* is altered into *cāttuvikam* or *cāttuvitam*.[77]

Peculiarly enough, when inquiring into their name, I was informed by various Natives and even by some Todas that the Todavar தொதவர் are also called Kodavar கொதவர்.[78]

And this statement which supports my conjecture is upheld by several names of persons and places. I take thus Kodanād, which lies near Kōtagiri, and is the seat of one of the Pālāḷs containing some of the most ancient Todamands in the sense of denoting the district of the Kodas.[79] One of

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[77] The generally accepted derivation of Telugu or Telinga is from *Triliṅga*, but this remains doubtful as the term Triliṅga is a corruption of Trikalinga, to which the *Modogalingam* of Pliny corresponds: "Insula in Gange est magnæ amplitudinis gentem continens unam, *Modogalingam* nomine;" Hist. Natur. Lib. VI, cap. 22. If Telinga is a modified form of Kalinga, this word would provide another example of the interchange between a *k* and *t*. About *Tandesh*, see p. 135, n. 54.

The *t* is occasionally chosen as the representative of all the others consonants, Kaumārila is thus playfully changed into *Tautātita* in Vedāntadēśikācārya's *Tattvamuktākalāpa*, and pāduka into *tātuta* in the *Pādukasahasra* of the same author.

[78] T. C. Maduranāyaka Pillai, the clerk of Major-General Morgan, has told me of his own accord that he has often heard the Todavar call themselves and be called Kodavar. Some Kōtas whom I asked confirmed this evidence. A few Todas told me the same. They might have said so to please me, but they had no reason for so doing, as I had not expressed to them any opinion on that subject.

[79] Kodanād lies on the north of Paranganād. It contains one of the oldest mands and between it and Kōtagiri are found the sculptured Cromlechs of Hlai ūru. Some derive the name of Kodanād from *kōḍan*, the Toda word for monkey, which corresponds to the Kōta term *kōḍe*, and the Badaga, Kuṟumba, and Irula *koraṅgu*. But the presence of the common

the ancestors of the Todas is called Kotēn,[80] and the Hulikaldrug is also named Kodātha-betta, after the god Kodātha.[81]

The Todas have many customs which are also met with among other tribes, *e.g.*, among the Kols. But this coincidence does not prove the existence of any relationship. The same rites and practices often prevail among totally different people who live at a great distance from one another. The singular custom by which the youngest son becomes heir to the property in opposition to the law of *primogeniture* is observed by the Todas in South India as well as by some Holstein peasants in North Germany.

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brown monkey *koḍan* (*tūruni* being the black monkey) is hardly a distinctive feature of any district on the hills. It is perhaps possible that the Todas changed the initial letter of their original name in order to avoid any allusion to that of the monkey.

80 About Kotēn read Breeks' *Primitive Tribes of the Nīlagiri*, pp. 34, 36, 37, 97, 99. Kotēn is said to have brought the Kōtas up to the hills, though they are also represented to have been born on the hills, p. 36 : "Kotēn went to the Kundahs, and established a *Tiriari* and *Pālāḷs*, and placed the Kotas at the Kundah *Kotagiri*, called by the Todas Mērkōkāl" . . . 37. "After this, Kotēn went to a Kurumba village in Bāni Shīma, and on his return, when bathing in a stream, a hair of a golden colour came to his hand ; he followed it up stream to find the owner of the hair, and saw a Swāmi woman, by name Tērkosh, whom he married. After this, Kotēn returned home to his mand near the Avalanche. Kotēn slept on a deer skin, wore a silver ring, and carried a spear, bow, and arrow. On the night of his return he went to sleep, and in the morning nothing was found of him but his spear and ring and some blood on the deer-skin. He and Tērkosh were transformed into two hills, . . on the Sisapāra side of the hills, to which both Kurumbas and Todas pay occasional ceremonial visits. The Kurumbas light a lamp on the hill Tērkosh. When the Todas see these two hills, they sing the song about Kotēn. (Thus five gods are connected in these traditions with different hills, *viz.* :—Dirkish, Kodātha, Pūrsh, Kotēn, and Tērkosh. If the Todas originally deified every hill, not an unnatural worship for mountaineers, the number of their gods, otherwise astonishing, is accounted for. The Todas, in common with the other hill tribes, still offer ghee to be burnt to Maleswaramalē)."

81 About Kodātha read *ibidem*, p. 35 : "One day the Gods took counsel, saying 'why does the kite come here, let us drive him out'; so one of them, Kodātha, took the kite home to Kodātha-betta (Hulikaldūrga), and pushed him over ; the kite, in falling, caught hold of a bamboo, with which he returned, and struck Kodātha's head, so that it split into three pieces."

Though it is difficult as yet to decide definitively the ethnological status of the Todas, I believe I have been successful in assigning them to the Gaudian branch of the Gauda-Dravidian race.

The Kōtas.

Next to the Kuṟumbas and Todas the Kōtas are the most ancient inhabitants of the Nīlagiri range. According to Toda tradition Kotēn introduced them to these hills. Though they are regarded as the Pariah element among the hill-tribes, it is possible that they were originally more nearly related to the Todas, whom they call their *annatamalu*, *i.e.*, brothers. They have many customs in common with the Todas, *e.g.*, that which constitutes the youngest brother as heir of the house, a practice which seems also to prevail among the Kurumbas. They recognize no caste distinctions, but are sub-divided into *Keris* or streets. They are a very industrious tribe and devote themselves to agriculture and to various sorts of handicrafts. They excel as carpenters, smiths, tanners, basket-makers, &c. They acknowledge the Todas as the lords of the soil, and pay them tribute (*gūdu*). They are well-formed, of average height, not bad featured and fair-skinned. They live in seven villages, one of which is in the neighbourhood of Gūḍalūr.[82] The last census fixes their

[82] Compare Dr. Shortt's *Account of the Tribes of the Neilgherries*, pp. 53–57: "This tribe ranks next to the Todas in priority of occupation of these hills. They have no caste, and are in this respect equal to the Pariahs of the low country; and as a body, are the most industrious of the hill tribes, giving much of their time and attention to agriculture and handicraft, &c. . . . They also employ themselves as *Curriers*, and are highly esteemed in the plains for the excellent leather they cure . . . They acknowledge the Todas as lords of the soil. . . At the same time they exact from each hamlet of the Badagas within certain distance of their own village, certain annual fees, which they receive in kind for services rendered as handicraftsmen, &c., in addition to that of ceremonial or festive occasions for menial services performed . . . In confirmation of their having followed the Todas as settlers on these Hills they hold the best lands, and have the privilege of selecting the best whenever they wish to extend their holdings. They are well made and of tolerable height, rather good featured and

number at 1,122 souls, 55 Kōtas are assigned to the Bombay Presidency.[83]

It seems probable that the Todas and Kōtas lived near each other before the settlement of the latter on the Nīlagiri. Their dialects too betray a great resemblance, and, if my conjecture concerning the original name of the Todas is confirmed, their names at first were also much alike.[84] The Kōtas are the only hill people who are not afraid of the Todas, and they treat them occasionally even with bare courtesy, though, as a rule, a Kōta, when meeting a Toda and Badaga, lifts both his hands to his face and makes his obeisance from a distance. They do also not, like the other hill-tribes, stand in awe of the mysterious power of witchcraft, with which the Todas are credited.

According to a tradition of theirs they lived formerly on Kollimalai, a mountain in Mysore.[85] They possess, like most Hindus, a tradition concerning their special creation. Their god, Kamatarāya, perspired once profusely and "he "wiped from his forehead three drops of perspiration, and "out of them formed the most ancient of the hill-tribes, viz., "the Todas, Kurumbas, and Kotas. The Todas were told to "live principally upon milk; the Kurumbas were permitted

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light-skinned, having a copper color, and some of them are the fairest-skinned among the Hill tribes. They have well formed heads, covered with long black hair, grown long and let loose, or tied up carelessly at the back of the head. . . The women are of moderate height, of fair build of body, and not nearly so good-looking as the men." Read also Breeks' *Primitive Tribes of the Nīlagiris*, pp. 40–47; and Metz, pp. 127–132.

[83] The Census mentions 3,232 *Kotamali* in the North-Western Provinces, 1,112 *Kotakas*, 572 *Kotayas* and 1,076 *Kotthаras* in Madras.

[84] See Rev. F. Metz, *loco citato*, p. 127: "The close affinity existing between the language of the Todas and that of the Kotas leads me to believe that both these tribes came from the same quarter, and that they probably settled on the Neilgherries at about the same period."

[85] See Metz, *ibidem*, p. 127: "According to one of their traditions, the Kotas formerly lived on a mountain in Mysore, called Kollimalé, after which they named the first village they built on the Neilgherries. They now occupy seven tolerably large villages, all of which are known by the general name of Kotagiri, or Cow-killers' hill."

"to eat the flesh of buffalo calves; and the Kotas were "allowed perfect liberty in the choice of their food, being "informed that they might eat carrion, if they could get "nothing better, and beef also, though it is repulsive to all "Hindu notions."[86]

It is wrong to connect the name of the Kōtas with cow-slaying and to derive it from the Sanskrit *gō-hatyā*. This derivation seems to have been suggested from *Kohatūr*, one of the corrupted forms of the name of the Kōtar or Kōter. According to the late Mr. Breeks, in his *Primitive Tribes of the Nīlagiris*, p. 40: "The Todas call them Kuof, or cow-people;" but singularly enough the Toda word for cow is *danam*, like the Kuṟumba and Badaga *dana*. Dr. Pope on the other hand goes so far as to contend that the Todas had no word for cow; a statement which I regard as extremely venturous. However in both circumstances, if the Todas have no term for cow, or if that term is *danam*, they could not have called the Kōtas, *Kuof* or cow-people. Moreover, the Kōtas would not call themselves by such a name, nor would the Todas and the other hill-tribes who have no knowledge of Sanskrit apply a Sanskrit word to designate their neighbours. The derivation of the term *Kōta* is, as clearly indicated, from the Gauda-Dravidian word *ko*, (*ku*), mountain, and the Kōtas belong to the Gaudian branch.[87] It is a peculiar coincidence

[86] Metz, pp. 27 and 128: "The Kotas are the only of all the hill tribes who practise the industrial arts, and they are therefore essential almost to the very existence of the other classes. They work in gold and silver, are carpenters and blacksmiths, tanners and rope-makers, umbrella-makers, potters, and musicians, and are at the same time cultivators of the soil. They are, however, a squalid race, living chiefly on carrion, and are on this account a bye-word among the other castes, who, while they feel that they cannot do without them, nevertheless abhor them for their filthy habits. All the cattle that die in the villages are carried off by the Kotas, and feasted on by them, in common with the vultures, with whose tastes their own precisely agree; and at no time do the Kotas thrive so well as when there is murrain among the herds of the Todas and Badagas."

[87] See Breeks, p. 40: "The name is found differently spelt. Kota, Kotar, Kotēr, Kohatūr. The derivation is uncertain. Kohata or Gohata,

that according to the statement of Mr. Ramiah, Deputy Superintendent of Mysore, the "Lingayet Panchālas (workers in metals) and Huttagars are called Kotars in this part of the country (Harihar), and they worship Kāma (god) and Kurymena (goddess)." To this remark Mr. Breeks [88] adds: "Also that a caste of the same name exists in Mārwār and Guzerat." Dr. Fr. Buchanan makes a similar remark about the goddess of the Pañcālas.[89]

The occupation and the worship of the Mysore Kōtas confirmed to a certain degree the tradition of the Nīlagiri Kōtas when they contend that they came from Mysore.

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cow-killer, has been suggested, but this seems doubtful. The Todas call them Kuof, or cow-people." Read also Mr. H. B. Grigg's *District Manual*, pp. 203–213. On p. 203 he says: "The name is differently spelt Kōtu, Kōter, Kōtar, Kōhatur and Kotturs. Its derivation is doubtful. The Todas call them *Kuof* or cow-men, and, arguing from this word, some connect it with *Kō* (Sans.) cow, and *hatya*, *i.e.*, cow-killing. The first part of the derivation is probably correct. They are emphatically men of the *cow*, as opposed to the *buffalo*, the animal of the Tōda. The latter they are never allowed to keep; the former they keep, but do not, for superstitious reasons, milk." Compare note 76 on p. 166 where Rev. F. Kittel also decides against the explanation of *Kota* as cow-killer.

The Rev. Dr. Pope peculiarly enough declares on page 261 of his Tuḍa Grammar in Lieut.-Colonel Marshall's *Phrenologist amongst the Todas*: "*N.B.*—No Tuḍa word for cow, plough, sword, or shield." Yet according to Rev. F. Metz's Vocabulary of the Toda Dialect in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XVII (1857), p. 136, and to Mr. Breeks' Vocabulary, on p. 113, the Toda equivalent for cow is *danam*. Rev. F. Metz, *loco citato*, gives *nēkhel* as the Toda word for plough, and *uṛthbini* (pronounced *uḷthbini*) for to plough.

[88] See Breeks' *Primitive Tribes of the Nīlagiris*, p. 47.

[89] See Dr. Fr. Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, Madras, 1870, vol. I, p. 477: "The deity peculiar to the caste (of the Panchalar) is *Camachuma*, or *Kalima*, who is, they say, the same with *Parvati*, the wife of *Siva*." Compare Breeks' *Primitive Tribes*, p. 44: "The chief Kota festival, however, is the annual feast of Kāmatarāya, called *Kambata* or *Kamata*." Read also Grigg's *Manual*, p. 205: "The Kōtas had, it is said, formerly but one deity Kāmatarāya, but they also worship his wife (Kahasuma or Kalikai), each is represented by a silver plate. The god is also called Kambata and Kāmata." *Kāmata* may be of Sanskrit origin. Kāmadēva is a name of Śiva, and Kāmākṣi one of Durgā or Kālī. కామాటము '*kāmāṭamu*' signifies in Telugu workman.

CHAPTER XI.

On the Kuṛavas (Kuṛuvas, Kuṛumas), Koṛacaru, Kuṛus (Yerakulas), Kaurs, Kunnuvas.

The above-mentioned names are representative terms of various kindred tribes who live scattered in this country. While a considerable majority of their relatives in Northern India have embraced agricultural pursuits and form a preponderant element of the rustic population, many of their cousins in Southern India still cling to their old mountain homes, or roam as migratory hordes over the country, or are leading a pastoral life as shepherds.

For the sake of lucidity I shall consider these tribes under separate heads and begin with the wandering Kuṛavas.

On the Kuṛavas (Kuṛuvas, Kuṛumas), Koṛacaru, &c.

These wandering tribes are known over the greater part of India as Kuṛavas (Koṛavas) or Kuṛumas. They are also known as Koṛacaru (Korcaru, Korsaru or Kuṛuciyar), which term may be either a variation of Koṛava, the *v* being changed into *c*, or, as has been suggested, may be explained as a mixed compound from *koṛa* mountain and the Sanskrit root *car*, to go, so that it means hill-walkers. In this case their name reminds one of their Dravidian brothers the Malacar (Malasar). Dr. Francis Buchanan by calling the Koṛagas of South-Kanara Koṛavas, identifies them with the latter. At another place, however, he names the Koṛavas also Koramas.

In consequence of their roving life and the begging and cheating propensities which so many Kuṛavas exhibit, they are much disliked and shunned.[90] They wander continually

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[90] Compare Dr. Francis Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, second edition, vol. I. pp. 174, 175: "The *Coramas*, or *Coramaru*, are a set of people considered by the *Brâhmans* as an impure or mixed breed. They make baskets and trade in grain and salt to a considerable extent; but none of them can read or write.

from one place to another, gaining a precarious livelihood by making and selling wicker baskets of bamboo and reed grass, or mats and other household utensils of bamboo. Some of them also know how to prepare metal wires of steel, copper, and iron. They are famous bird-catchers, clever snake-jugglers, and very experienced hunters. If nothing else offers, they pierce the ears of children to insert ornaments, or tattoo the limbs of persons who desire this embellishment of their body. Most of their women are fortune tellers, while the men profess often to be conjurors.

They live, in general, in small camps of moveable huts, which are sometimes stationary near large towns; but they are often in a state of daily motion, while the people are following the mercantile concerns. The *Coramas* consist of four families, *Maydraguta*, *Cavadiru*, *Maynapatru*, and *Satipatru*. These are analogous to the Gōtrams of the Brāhmans; for a man and woman of the same family never intermarry, being considered as too nearly allied by kindred. The men are allowed a plurality of wives, and purchase them from their parents. The agreement is made for a certain number of *fanams*, which are to be paid by instalments, as they can be procured by the young woman's industry; for the women of this caste are very diligent in spinning and carrying on petty traffic. When the bargain has been made, the bridegroom provides four sheep, and some country rum, and gives a feast to the caste, concluding the ceremony by wrapping a piece of new cloth round his bride. Should a man's wife prove unfaithful, he generally contents himself with giving her a beating, as she is too valuable to be parted with on slight grounds; but, if he chooses, she may be divorced. In this case, he must assemble the caste to a feast, where he publicly declares his resolution; and the woman is then at liberty to marry any person that she chooses, who is willing to take her. The *Coramas* do not follow nor employ the *Brāhmans*; nor have they any priests, or sacred order. When in distress, they chiefly invoke *Vencaty Rāmana*, the *Tripathi Vishnu*, and vow small offerings of money to his temple, should they escape. They frequently go into the woods and sacrifice fowls, pigs, goats, and sheep, to *Muni*, who is a male deity, and is said by the *Brāhmans* to be a servant of *Iswara*; but of this circumstance the *Coramas* profess ignorance. They, as usual, eat the sacrifice. They have no images, nor do they worship any. Once in two or three years the *Coramas* of a village make a collection among themselves, and purchase a brass pot, in which they put five branches of the *Melia azadirachta* and a coco-nut. This is covered with flowers, and sprinkled with sandal-wood water. It is kept in a small temporary shed for three days, during which time the people feast and drink, sacrificing lambs and fowls to Marima, the daughter of *Siva*. At the end of the three days they throw the pot into the water."

Read also Abbé J. A. Dubois' *Description of the Character, Manners and Customs of the People of India*, third edition, Madras, 1879, pp. 335–338: "The

They generally bury their dead in solitary and unknown places at night, and the traces of their dead disappear so completely that the Natives have a common saying: "Nobody has seen a monkey's carcass or the corpse of a Kuṟava," and if anything is irretrievably lost the fact is intimated by the proverb: "It has gone to the burial place of the Kuṟavas and to the dancing room of the wandering actors."

As a rule they do not acknowledge the priestly supremacy of the Brahmans, nor do they worship Hindu divinities, unless Hinduized to a certain extent. However, many

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vagrants called Kuravers are divided into three branches. One of these is chiefly engaged in the traffic of salt, which they go, in bands, to the coasts to procure, and carry it to the interior of the country on the backs of asses, which they have in great droves. . . . The trade of another branch of the Kuravers is the manufacture of osier panniers, wicker baskets, and other household utensils of that sort, or bamboo mats. This class, like the preceding, are compelled to traverse the whole country, from place to place, in quest of employment. . . . The third species of Kuravers is generally known under the name of *Kaḻḻa-Bantru* or robbers; and indeed those who compose this caste are generally thieves or sharpers, by profession and right of birth. The distinction of expertness in filching belongs to this tribe. . . The Kaḻḻa-Bantru are so expert in this species of robbery (of cutting through the mud wall an opening sufficiently large to pass through), that, in less than half-an-hour, they will carry off a rich lading of plunder, without being heard or suspected till day-light discloses the villainy."

See Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. III, p. 142: "*Koravar*, a tribe of thieves and vagabonds wandering about the districts of the Carnatic. This tribe is common to several districts. Among the Tamils these people are called Koravars, but by the Telugus, Yerakalas. In North Arcot they mortgage their unmarried daughters to pay their creditors when unable to pay their debts. In some districts they obtain their wives by purchase, giving a sum varying from thirty to seventy rupees. The clans into which they are divided do not intermarry. In Madura and South Arcot the Koravars are hawkers, petty traders, dealers in salt, jugglers, box-makers, breeders of pigs and donkeys; and are a drunken and dissolute race." Compare J. H. Nelson's *Manual of Madura*, Part II, p. 69, about the *Kuravans*.

Consult further Dr. Edward Balfour "On the Migratory Tribes of Natives in Central India" in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XIII, 1844, pp. 9–12: "The *Korawa*. This migratory people arrange themselves into four divisions, the Bajantri, Teling, Kolla, and Soli Korawas, speaking the same language, but none of them intermarrying or eating with each other. Whence they originally migrated it would be difficult perhaps now to come to a conclusion, nor could it be correctly ascertained how far they extend. The Bajantri, or Gaon ka Korawa, the musical or village Korawa, are met

revere Vēṅkaṭēśvara of Tripati, or Śiva and Kālī in their cruder forms, the latter especially as *Mariamma;* Gurunātha, a village god, whose presence is indicated by a rude stone situated under a tree, is also an object of their veneration, though some Kuṟumbas claim him as their special god. Their own elders generally fill the position of priests.

They practise polygamy and are said to pawn their wives for debt. Their family disputes are decided by arbitrators, but they often nurse their quarrels to such an extent that an interminable law suit is called a Kuṟava's strife.

They have different sub-divisions in various parts of the country, either according to their various clans or the occupation they follow, and the latter soon becomes a tribal distinction. Dr. Francis Buchanan mentions a classification

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with in Bejapore, Bellary, Hyderabad and throughout Canara. . . Their food differs from that of the Hindoo as well as the Mahomedan; they never eat the cow or bullock, but the jackal, porcupine, hog and wild boar, deer and tigers are sought after and used by them. They deny that robbery is ever made a regular mode of earning a subsistence; an honesty, however, that the people among whom they dwell give them but little credit for. . They live by thieving, making grass screens and baskets. The men likewise attend at festivals, marriages, and births, as musicians, which has obtained for them the name of Bajantri. . . The women, too, earn a little money by tattooing on the skin the marks and figures of the gods, which the females of all castes of Hindus ornament their arms and foreheads with. . . The age for marrying is not a fixed time; and, different from every other people in India, the youth of the female is not thought of consequence. . . . It is not unusual to have two, three, or four wives in one household, among this people. . . This people live virtuously; the abandonment of their daughters is never made a trade of, and other classes speak favorably of their chastity. They respect Brahmins; though they never . . seem to respect the gods of the Hindoo mythology. . . The Teling Korawa (generally known as Kusbi, Korawa, Aghare Pal Wale, prostitute Korawas) gain a livelihood by basket-making and selling brooms, in making which their wives assist; but their chief means of subsistence is in the prostitution of their female relatives whom, for that purpose, they devote to the gods from their birth. . . The goddess, in whose service the lives of the Teling Korawas' devoted women are thus to be spent, has her chief shrine near Bellary. They never devote more than one of their daughters; the rest are married and made honest women of . . This branch bury their dead, and the food that was most liked by the deceased is placed at the head of the grave. The most favorable omen of the state of the departed soul is drawn from its being eaten by a crow; less auspicious if by a cow; but if both the crow and cow decline to

based on the family system, while Abbé Dubois gives another derived from occupation, and Dr. Balfour prefers one of local origin.

In the census report these people are arranged under different heads, and their aggregate number amounts to nearly 175,000.[91]

On the Kuṟus (Yerakulas) and Kaurs.

Another tribe who are acknowledged as a separate class of the Kuṟavas are the *Yerakulavāṇḍlu* or *Yerakalavāru*, who call themselves *Kuṟu*, *Kuluvuru* or *Kola*, while the Tamil people designate them as *Kuṟavar*, whom they resemble in their manners and customs.[92] They live in

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eat it, they deem the dead to have lived a very depraved life, and impose a heavy fine on his relatives for having permitted such evil ways."

About the name consult *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, by H. H. Wilson, p. 294 : "*Koracharu*, also *Korcharu*, *Korvaru*, or *Korsaru*, &c., corruptly *Korchoor*. The name of a tribe in the Karnatic, whose business is making bamboo mats and baskets, or who carry betelnuts from market to market : they live in the hills and forests.

"*Koravarava*, *Koramaravanu*, or *Koravanu*, or abbrev. *Koravar*, *Koramar*. . . The name of a low tribe in Mysore, of which there are three branches—*Kalla-koramar*, who are professed thieves ; *Walaga-koramar*, who are musicians ; and *Hakki-koramar*, who are a migratory race, and subsist by making baskets, catching birds, &c. : they are hill and forest tribes and have a dialect of their own : (the name may be only a local modification of *Kola*, or *Cole*, the hill tribes of Hindustan)." On p. 305 : "*Kuruchchiyan*, or *Kuruman*, Mal. A class of people inhabiting the hills in Wynād."

[91] According to the Census Report of 1881, there were registered in India 7,875 *Kurumar* in Madras, 1,071 *Gorcha* in the North-Western Provinces, 24 Hakikoraw in Hyderabad, 11,864 *Korachar* in Mysore, 110,473 *Koravar* in Madras and Travancore, 597 *Korchar* in Bombay, 3,448 *Koruviavasayar* in Madras, 14,106 *Korvi* in Bombay, 1,001 *Kuravandlu* in Madras, 31,644 *Kura* in the Central Provinces, 14 *Kuravar* in the Central Provinces, and 3,135 *Kurwai* in Hyderabad, &c.

[92] Consult H. H. Wilson's *Glossary*, pp. 560, 561 : "*Yerkullevar*, (?) Tel. probably for *Erukuvāḍu*, pl. *Erukuvāṇḍlu*, and the same as those corruptly termed *Yerkelwanloo*, *Yera-kedi*, *Yerakelloo* (ఎఱుకువాడు). The designation of a wild migratory tribe who subsist on game and all sorts of flesh : they make and sell baskets and mats, and are considered as outcastes : both men and women pretend to be fortune-tellers and conjurors : they are also said to be called *Koorshe-wānlu*, *Yerkel-wanloo* (*wānlu*, or more correctly *vāṇḍlu*, being only the plural of *vāḍu*), *Yera-kedi*, and *Yerakelloo*, but to be known amongst themselves as *Kuṟṟu ;* they are possibly the same who appear

like manner under tents fixed by bamboo poles and covered with mats made of reed grass. They are also continually roaming about, avoiding villages and towns and preferring to pitch their tents in some open ground a few miles distant from inhabited places, only to strike them again after a few days' stay. They thus wander over Hyderabad, the Ceded Districts, and other adjacent provinces. Their tents of which every family possesses a separate one, with a few

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among the predial slaves in Kūrg under the name of *Yerrwanroo*, *i.e.*, *Erra-vāṇḍlu*, ? red men, or *Yevaru* q.v. or *Yerlan*, or *Erehlen*, (?) also specified amongst, the servile races of Kūrg."

Further see "The Migratory Races of India," by Assistant Surgeon Edward Balfour, Madras Army, in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XVII (1857), pp. 4–9: "The *Coorroo*. This seems to be a branch of the *Korawa* people, two divisions of whom . . were described by me in an article on the Migratory Tribes of India . . This wandering race occupy the Ceded Districts and are called by Mahomedans 'Koorshe Wanloo;' Telings give them the names of 'Yerkel wanloo,' 'Yera keedi,' and 'Yera kelloo,' and the Aravas know them as Coortee; but their designation among themselves is Coorroo, the *rr* being pronounced by them with a loud thrilling sound. I believe them to be a branch of the Korawa people from the similarity of their customs, and from their using similar articles of diet, but the term *korawa* was quite new to this community, who, although familiar with the appellations of the Mahomedans and Hindoos, told me that Coorroo was the only name they ever designated themselves by . . They live in huts constructed of mats, very neatly woven from a long grass, named in Telagoo "zamboo," which grows in the beds of tanks, and which they spread over a bamboo frame work. They are incessantly on the move, wandering about the country, and they never reside inside of towns, but pitch their little camps on open plains three or four miles from some inhabited place. They rarely remain above two or three days in one spot and their journeys are of considerable length. The value of one of their huts would hardly amount to half a rupee (one shilling), asses, goats and pigs constitute their wealth; the two last of these they use as food and sell for money in towns. They, likewise, earn a little by selling grass mats and baskets made of canes and bamboos, the handy-work of the men, but which are sold by the women . . . Each family in their communities lives apart in its own hut, constructed, as above-mentioned, by the mats woven by themselves. . The men informed me that they usually marry about the time that their mustaches appear (18 years of age ?) with women who have attained maturity, and a bride is never taken to her husband's hut before two months after this period of her life. They marry one wife only, but they can keep as many of their women as they choose. The greatest number, however, that any of my informants remembered to have seen in one man's hut, was one wife and three kept women; this latter class being in general widows...

asses, goats, and pigs represent their property. They earn besides a precarious living by selling grass-mats and cane or bamboo-baskets, which are made by the men, but hawked about and sold by the women. In their wanderings they sometimes commit all sorts of robberies and often are troublesome dacoits and highway robbers.

Accounts vary about their marriage customs. According to some, the *tāli* or marriage string is bound round the

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The marriage ceremony consists in sprinkling rice and turmeric over the bride and bridegroom's head; and after it is over the bride returns to her parents and remains with them for five days... The Coorroo attaches much importance to the purity of their unmarried females, but they regard a want of integrity in their married women as a trivial matter.... They drink all sorts of intoxicating drinks, but never use opium or any of the preparations from hemp.. They never use the flesh of the horse, jackall, tiger, cheetah, or crow; but they eat the hog, mouse, rat, wild rat, and fowls.. It is difficult to say what their religion is. They do not bind on the *tali* in marriage, or use any of the Hindu sectarian marks on their foreheads, neither do they revere the Brahmans or any religious superior, nor perform any religious ceremony at any Hindu or Budhist temple, but they told me that, when they pray, they construct a small pyramid of clay which they term Mariammah and worship it. But though they seem thus almost without a form of religion, the women had small gold and silver ornaments suspended from cords round their necks and which they said had been supplied to them by a goldsmith from whom they had ordered figures of Mariamma. The form represented is that of the goddess Kali, the wife of Siva. They mentioned that they had been told by their forefathers that, when a good man dies, his spirit enters the body of some of the better animals as that of a horse or cow, and that a bad man's spirit gives life to the form of a dog or jackall; but though they told me this they did not seem to believe it. They believe firmly, however, in the existence and constant presence of a principle of evil, who, they say, frequently appears... When they die the married people are burned, but the unmarried are buried quite naked without a shroud or kufn, or other clothing, a custom which some other castes in India likewise follow... The Coorroo people are naturally of a bamboo-color, though tanned by the sun into a darker hue. Their faces are oval with prominent bones, their features having something of the Tartar expression of countenance... The dialect spoken by the 'Coorroo' as their lingua franca, in their intercourse with the people of the country, is the Teloogoo, and I was surprised to find them entirely ignorant of the Canarese language although living exclusively among the Canarese nation."

Compare also Mr. H. E. Stokes' account of these people in the *Manual of the Nellore District*, compiled and edited by Mr. John A. C. Boswell, M.C.S., pp. 154–157: "These people (the Yerukalas) wander from place to place, as they find it easy to gain a living, pitching their huts generally in open places near villages. Their property consists principally of cattle and asses,

neck of the woman; according to others this is not the case. This discrepancy may be explained by some having adopted the usual Hindu customs, while others still keep aloof from them. With respect to their religious worship the same observation may hold good. There is no doubt that originally they did not worship any Hindu deities, nor did they in consequence perform any religious ceremonies at any Hindu shrine, nor revere the Brahmans as their religious superiors. In fact the

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and they act as carriers of salt and grain; they cut firewood in the jungles and sell it in the villages; they also gather and sell a leaf called karepaku (the black margosa); they eat game, flesh of all sorts, and jungle roots. They all, both women and men, pretend to tell fortunes; these people, like all the wandering tribes of the district, are basket-makers. . . They are stout men and very hardy in constitution. Like the Yanadies they tie their hair in a knot over the forehead. Lieutenant Balmer, in his letter to the Collector, dated 22nd May 1865, No. 317, writes the following as to the Yerukalas: 'The crimes they are addicted to are dacoity, highway robbery, and robbery; they are the most troublesome of our wanderers.'.. The gods whom they chiefly worship are Mahalakshmi and Venkatesvara (to whom the Trippati temple is sacred), and they also sacrifice to the pitris, or manes of their ancestors. They state generally that all gods worshipped by Hindus are worshipped by them. The old men of the tribe are priests. Each tribe or family has a god, which is carried about with the encampment. One, which I have seen, was a piece of wicker-work, about five inch square, cased in black canvas, one side being covered with white sea-shells imbedded in a red paste. It was called Polaperamma. Polygamy is practised among the Yerukalas, and the number of wives is only limited by the means of the husband. There is no polyandria, nor is there any trace of the custom, which sometimes is found among rude tribes, of the brothers of a family having their wives in common. The marriage string is always tied round the neck of the wife. The females are said not to marry till they are full grown. The ceremony usually takes place on a Sunday, *puja* having been made on the Saturday. Rice mixed with turmeric is poured on the heads of the married couple; the marriage string is tied on, and the ceremony is complete. During the lifetime of her husband a wife may not marry another man, but after his death she may if she wishes. . . A man supports all his children by all his wives. If he has a great number, the brothers will take some of them; but when they are grown up they return to their father's family. Sons so reared will, through gratitude, support their uncles in old age. . . I have collected a number of words and phrases of the Yerukalas among themselves—a language which is unintelligible to the Telugu people. The most cursory glance at these is sufficient to produce the conviction that it is a Tamil dialect. It has been considerably mixed, as is to be expected, with Telugu and Canarese, but in its structure it is plainly Tamil. The Yerukalas understand Tamil when spoken, and it is superfluous to state analogies between their dialect and Tamil, inasmuch as

old men of the tribe are to this day their priests. They mainly worship Māriamma or Pōlēramma, an image of whom generally accompanies each tribe in its wanderings. The god Vēṅkaṭēśvara of Tripati is also held in respect by a great many. They generally keep a lamp burning night and day in their encampments before which they offer up prayers.

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the former is nothing but a patois of the latter, in which Telugu and Canarese words are freely used. There can be no doubt as to the fact that the Yerukalas are a Tamil tribe, but there are some points connected with the name and language which seem to throw further light on the question. The name has two forms in Telugu, one Yerukuvandlu, said by Brown and Campbell to be derived from 'Erugu' to know, and to have reference to their fortune-telling powers, and one Yerukulavandlu; the first of this word is evidently not a plural of 'Yeruku,' but a distinct word. This seems to be recognized by Brown and Wilson, who conjecture that 'Yeru' is a prefix to be connected by the word 'erra' red. . . The Yerukulas in this district state that their tribe name in their own language is 'Kurru,' also, Kola; and I think there can be no doubt that the 'Yer' or 'Yeru' is a mere prefix and that 'Kala,' Wilson's 'Kullevar' represents the real name of the tribe. To connect 'Yer' or 'Yeru' with the Telugu 'erra,' red, seems quite meaningless; it might perhaps be compared with 'Yervaru' mentioned by Wilson, or which seems more plausible to suppose it to be the word 'Yeruku' (which, as has been said, is one designation of the tribe in Telugu, compounded with the real tribe name 'Kurruvandlu,' or Kolavandlu, when, according to a common euphonic law in Telugu, the two '*k's*' would coalesce and the word becomes Yerukkalavandlu. The second 'k' would easily be dropped, and the word assume its common form Yerukalavandlu. I have been unable to find that there are any traditions among these people as to the country from which they came; one of them indignantly repudiated the notion of a Tamil origin. The language, however, and the tribe name 'Kurru' seems to me unmistakeably to point to the identity of this tribe with the well-known Kuravar or Koravar of the Tamil districts."

The *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H. H. the Nizam's Dominions* contains in vol. I, pp. 326–28, an account of the Yerakulavāṇḍlu: "The *Yarkalwars* are a nomad tribe living in huts made of palmyra leaves or reeds. They are found in some of the eastern districts of the Dominions. They live on the flesh of swine, game and carrion, and a little grain they may get in barter for the mats and baskets they construct. They snare birds with bird-lime, and they have a small breed of dogs with which they kill hares. They kill most of the dogs when young, but retain the bitches, to which, when they are intended for hunting, they give a certain root that renders them barren. . Brahmans will not approach the Yarkalwars but the Jangam of the Lingayets is more pliant, and on the occasion of a death, for a present of some grain, he attends and blows his conch. Their marriage ceremonies consist in a headman whom they elect for the occasion, and place on a

The explanation of their by-name *Yerukulavāṇḍlu* (Yerukalavāṇḍlu, Yerakalavāṇḍlu or Yerikalavāṇḍlu) offers some difficulties. Scholars like C. P. Brown and H. H. Wilson are inclined to take *yeru* in the meaning of *erra*, red; but there does not seem sufficient ground for this derivation. It is true, and I have elsewhere alluded to the fact, that Scythian tribes use occasionally terms signifying color, in order to represent political positions; black, *e.g.*, indicating, under these circumstances, dependence and servitude, and white liberty and sovereignty. I have not observed, however, this

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throne of turf, putting rice on the heads of the young people, and uttering some mystic words; a pig is then killed, the flesh is cooked and eaten, and ample as their experience must be of the qualities of every kind of flesh, they are unanimous in declaring that pork is superior to all. They then jump about, beat their bellmetal vessels, and the whole concludes by the whole party, male and female, getting drunk. One of their customs is very peculiar. On the occasion of a birth the husband is looked on as the subject of compassion, and is carefully tended by the neighbours, as if he and not the wife had been the sufferer. Like all vagabonds they are regarded with suspicion, and with some reason, as they affect to possess a divining rod in the shape of the frond of the wild date, by which they may discover on the outside of the house where property is placed within . . . Although despised as a carrion-eating caste, the ryots do not hesitate in cases of sickness to consult them. Then the divining rod is produced, a Yarkalwar woman holding one end while the other is given to the person seeking advice, a long string of words is rattled over, the result of the disease foretold, and the particular shrine is indicated where an offering is to be placed, or the offended Sakti named, whose wrath is to be appeased by sacrifice . . . They speak a corrupt Tamil."

Compare also a "Brief Sketch of the Yerukala Language as spoken in Rajahmandry" in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1879, pp. 93–102. Messrs. A. G. Subrahmanyam Iyer, B.A., and P. Srinivasa Rao Pantulu, B.A., asked, under the direction of Rev. Mr. J. Cain, a Yeruka a series of questions and drew up the paper. Mr. Cain published afterwards a similar but shorter paper in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IX (1880), pp. 210–212. The brief sketch contains, among others, the following statements: "The Yerukulas do not seem to have any distinctive tribal or national name. In conversation with each other they call themselves 'Kuluvaru, evidently from the Sanskrit 'kula,' merely signifying 'our people' while to strangers they speak of themselves as Yerukalavaru, a name most probably given them by their Telugu neighbours (Telugu ఎఱుక) in allusion to their supposed skill in palmistry, which they practise as a means of livelihood. The Yerukula in question was not able to say when his people settled in Rajahmandry. He only knew that a long time ago they came from the west... Their customs are generally of a very simple character. They burn their

custom among the Gauda-Dravidian tribes of India, though the term *erra*, red, is occasionally used in names, *e.g.*, in that of the *Erra Gollalu.*[93]

There is also no reason for connecting the two initial syllables *Yera* of *Yerakalavāṇḍlu* with the Yeravas of Kurg. These are a distinct tribe and do not belong to the Kuṛavas, of whom the Kuṛus or Yerukulavāṇḍlu are a branch. The name Yerava is in reality only another form of Parava.[94]

A similar remark must be made as to the propriety of deriving the name of the Kuṛus from the Telugu words

dead with little ceremony... There appears to be little doubt that the language belongs to the Dravidian family. The following collection of words and phrases seems to show conclusively that of these languages it bears the closest affinity to Tamil although possessing words, allied to Telugu and Canarese."

[93] See my monograph *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage and Geschichte*, p. 121, note 1 : " Die mongolischen Völkerschaften pflegen nämlich, wie bekannt, dem eigenthümlichen Stammesnamen eine Farbe, wie schwarz, weiss, etc., voranzusetzen, und hierdurch die politische Lage der Horde, ob sie unabhängig der abhängig sei, anzudeuten."

[94] See " Ethnographical Compendium on the Castes and Tribes in the Province of Coorg," by the Rev. G. Richter, pp. 9, 10 : " Of the hill-tribes the *Yeravas* stand lowest and seem to have been in remote ages in a servile relation to the *Betta Kurumbas* . . They are immigrants from Wynad, where the same class of *Yeravas* is said to be found. Their language is related to that of the *Betta Kurumbas* and understood by the Coorgs. . . The *Yeravas* bury their dead with their clothes on lying flat the head eastward ; but according to the statement of an intelligent *Yerava* maistry, who was also the headman of his gang, the women are buried in a sitting posture in a hole scooped out sideways from what would have been an ordinary grave, so that the earth over head does not touch her."

Read also *Mysore and Coorg*, by Lewis Rice, in vol. I, p. 351 : " *Yerava.* These are only found in Mysore District, in the taluks forming the southern frontier ; they are said to have originally belonged to Wainad, where they were held in slavery by the Nairs. They resemble the African in features having thick lips and compressed noses. They speak a language of their, own." In vol. II, p. 94 : " Yerra Ganga and Challava Ganga, two men of the Yerralu tribe," to this the note is added : " A wandering tribe identical with or closely related to the Korachars. They are known in Coorg as Yeravas." And in vol. III, on pp. 214, 215 : " Yeravas, also known as Panjara Yeravas, 5,608 males, and 4,908 females. . . From the description given of the Yeravas, it is probable they would have been more correctly classed with Holeyas among the outcastes. They are said to be originally from Wainad, where, like the Holeyas in Coorg, they were held in slavery by the Nairs. They are met with almost entirely in Kiggatnad and Yedenalkad

erike, *eruka* or *eruku*. The Telugu terms *erike* or *eruka* knowledge, in the sense of astrology or of palmistry, and *eṟuku*, hunter, do not offer an explanation of the tribal name *Kuṟu*. It is highly probable that the name and the occupation of the fortune-telling Kuṟuvāṇḍlu or Kulavāṇḍlu induced the Telugu people to call this tribe Yerukulavāṇḍlu, Yerakalavāṇḍlu or Yerikelavāṇḍlu, including in these terms both their tribal name and their profession, and that this nickname, once substituted for the real tribal surname, supplanted the latter in course of time. I prefer this explanation to the conjecture suggested by Mr. H. E. Stokes in his interesting account of these people. Taking *Eruku* as a Telugu designation of this race, he adds to it their tribal name by dropping the last vowel of the first part of the compound, so that the word becomes *Yerukkalavandlu*. Peculiarily enough the term *Erukukula* occurs in reality as quoted in the note below, but apparently in the meaning of hunter. No race takes, as a rule, its name from a foreign language, and Telugu is a strange dialect to the Kuṟus, whose real idiom is rather akin to Tamil. In this language the expression Yerukalavas is ignored, and this tribe is called simply by the term Koṟavar.[95]

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taluks. They speak a language of their own, a dialect of Malayalam, and live with the Coorgs, but always in separate huts in or near jungle. They are much sought after as labourers."

It is evident from the above that Mr. Rice's statements contradict each other. If *Yerra Ganga* and *Challava Ganga* were Kuṟuvāṇḍlu or Yerukulavāṇḍlu, they could, according to my opinion, not have been Yeravar.—Moreover Mr. Rice calls them "men of the Yerralu tribe," and the Yeravar are not, as I believe, known as Yerralu. Mr. Rice was induced to this identification by Mr. Stokes' remarks, to which he refers. In this case it appears very doubtful whether *yerra* in *Yerra Ganga* is a tribal distinction at all, it seems rather to be a personal proper name.

[95] See the *Telugu and English Dictionary* by Charles Philip Brown, p. 126: "ఎరికె or ఎరుక knowledge, acquaintance, fortune-telling. ఎరికెలది or ఎరికెలసాని a fomale gypsey, a witch. ఎరికెలవాడు a fortune-teller: ఎరెకల-వాండ్లు gypsies. See ఎరుకలు. ఎరుక mountaineer, a savage. ఎరుకచెప్పు to tell fortunes. ఎరుకు adj. Belonging to gypsies, or to hillpeople. ఎరుకు-

It is hardly necessary after this to contradict two other statements, namely that the term *Kulavāru* is derived from the Sanskrit word *kula* and that the original tribal name of this race was *Kala*. The falseness of the first is obvious, while the real tribal designation, as has been proved, is *Kulu*, *Kola*, or *Kuṛu*. *Ko* (*ku*), mountain, is, indeed, the root to which the name of the Kuṛuvas, Koṛavas, Koṛamas, Kuṛuvāṇḍlu or Kolavāṇḍlu must be traced. According to the last census 48,882 Yerukulavāṇḍlu live in the Madras Presidency, 9,892 in Hyderabad, and 30 in the Central Provinces, or altogether 58,804 in India.

These Kuṛus must not be confounded with the Kolarian *Kūrs*, who live on the Mahadeva hills and in the forests watered by the Tapti and Narbada. The Kūrs are better known as Muāsis.[96]

On the other hand, it is by no means improbable that the Kaurs of the Central Provinces stand in some relationship to the Kuṛavas, as they appear to belong to the Gonds.

రేడు a highland chief. ఎరుకులవాడు a gypsey, ఎరుకలది a gypsey wench. This tribe of fortune-tellers speak a peculiar jargon or cant: and when they pitch their camps near towns, they herd swine. ఎరుకలసాని a woman of this tribe: a *witch*." Compare also *Śabda Ratnākaram*, a dictionary of the Telugu Language, compiled by B. Sītārāmacāryulu, Madras, 1885, pp. 150-151. "ఎఱుక . దే. వి. 1. తెలివి. . . 5 జోస్యము . . . ఎఱుకు. దే. వి. 1. కిరాతుడు 2. వ్యాధుఁడు. చ. .ఎఱుకులంబునందు జనియించియు ధర్మువులెల్లనిమ్మగా, నెఱిఁగెడు."

[96] See the Rev. Stephen Hislop's *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, pp. 25–27: "We come now to a race in language at least quite distinct from any that have engaged our attention—a race in that respect not allied to the Dravidian stock, but to the family which numbers among its members the Kōl nation. With the name of this last-mentioned nation, the word *Kūr*, or *Kul*, as it ought properly to be pronounced, is evidently identical. .. The Kūrs were found on the Mahadeva Hills, and westward in the forests on the Tapti and Narbadda, until they came into contact with the Bhils. On the Mahadeva Hills, where they have been much influenced by the Hindus, they prefer the name of Muāsi, the origin of which I have not been able to ascertain." Compare also Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Caste*, vol. II, p. 126, and Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of India*, pp. 151, 221, 230.

They resemble in their customs the aboriginal tribes of the jungles, revere Gond deities, and avoid all intercourse with Brahmans. With the Kuṟumbas they have in common the peculiar habit that all males are clean-shaved when a death takes place among their connections. Their features have a thorough Turanian aspect, their color is darkish, their noses are broad, and their lips rather thick. They assert, and their neighbours all round support them in their claim, that they are the survivors of the Kauravas who, after the battle of Kurukṣētra, fled to the south and took refuge in the hill tracts of Central India.[97]

On the Kunnuvas and Kunavāris.

Dr. Shortt mentions, on p. 85 in the fifth part of his "Hill Ranges of Southern India," the "*Manadies*, *Coonoovars*

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[97] Read Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of India*, pp. 136–138: "In a paper entitled 'Notes of a Tour in the Tributary Māhals,' published in the *Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, I introduced them as a dark, coarse-featured, broad-nosed, wide-mouthed, and thick-lipped race, and it was natural to conclude from this that they were one of the aboriginal tribes. . .They are decidedly ugly, but are taller and better set up than most of the people described in this chapter. The Kaurs form a considerable proportion of the population of Jashpur, Udaipur, Sirguja, Korea, Chand Bhakar, and Korba of Chattisgarh, and though they are much scattered, and the various divisions of the tribe hold little communication with each other, they all tenaciously cling to one tradition of their origin, that they are the descendants of the survivors of the sons of Kuru, called Kauravas in Purans, who, when defeated by the Pāndavas at the great battle of Kurukshetrya, and driven from Hastināpur, took refuge in the hill country of Central India. They not only relate this of themselves, but it is firmly believed by the people of all castes of Hindus, their neighbours, who, notwithstanding their dark complexions and general resemblance to the offspring of Nishāda and some anti-Hindu practices, do not scruple to regard them as brethren. . . I was informed that the Kaurs were divided into four tribes—(1) the *Dūdh Kaurs*, (2) *Paikera*, (3) *Rettiah Kaurs*. The Kaurs of Udaipur described by me in the paper above quoted belong to this class. They rear and eat fowls, and have no veneration for Brahmans. The village barber is their priest, and officiates as such at marriages and other ceremonies. At births, marriages and deaths, the males affected by the casualty and all connected with them of the same sex are clean-shaven all round. Some villages maintain, besides, a Byga priest, or exorcist for the Dryads, Naiads, and witches. The Paikera Kaurs therefore, who are, I think, the most numerous, cannot be regarded as Hindu in faith . . (4) the *Cherwa Kaurs* . . . The Dūdh Kaurs alone preserve the true blood of the Kuru race . . . They have none of them in the tracts mentioned, attained

(Mountaineers), or *Koravurs*" among the tribes of the Paḻani Mountains. He contends that "the Manadies or Coonoovars were the chief landed proprietors, possessing large herds of cattle, and, when compared with the other tribes, seem to be in easy circumstances." According to Mr. Nelson (Part II, p. 34): "The *Kunnuvans*, or as they are also called "Kunnuva Vellālans, perhaps from the word *Kunru* a "hillock, are supposed to be a caste of lowland cultivators who "came up from the Coimbatore plains some three or four "centuries ago and settled upon the Palani mountains as "has been shown." Whether the *Kunnuvas* were originally Dravidian Veḻḻāḻas who adopted the surname Kunnuva as a distinguishing clan-title, or whether the name Veḻ-

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to the dignity of landlord either as zamīndār, or jāgīrdār. I am told, however, that the Zamīndār of Korba in Chattisgarh is a Kaur. All this makes me inclined to separate them from the aboriginal tribes of Central India, and to think that there is some foundation for their tradition; but, as I cannot efface their Turanian traits, and from all I have seen of them must regard those traits as the predominating and original characteristics of the tribe, I find myself in the dilemma of having to come forward as the propounder of a new theory, and, in opposition to the Mahābhārat, to suggest that the war of the Paṇḍavas and Kauravas was not a family quarrel but struggle for supremacy between an Aryanand Turanian nation!" Compare also the Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. II, p. 155: "The Kaurs are usually regarded as aborigines, although claiming to have been originally connected with the Tuar tribe of Rajpoots in the North-Western Provinces.. Nevertheless, their customs are not like those of Rajpoots, but like the aboriginal tribes of jungles. They worship Doolar Deo and Boorha Deo, Gond deities, and, as a class, avoid intercourse with Brahmans. Their marriage ceremonies are performed in the presence of the elders of the village, and they bury their dead. The Kaurs are good and industrious cultivators." The Kaurs are also mentioned in Mr. N. Ball's *Jungle Life in India*, pp. 296, 300, 322.

Compare with the above Justice Campbell's *Ethnology of India*, p. 40: "In this region of India, it only remains to mention one more Aboriginal tribe, called Kaurs, found in the extreme west of the Chota-Nagpore Agency about Korea, Oodeypore, and the adjoining parts of the territory of Nagpore proper, the Pergunnah of Korbah of Chatteesgurh. They are described as a very industrious, thriving people, considerably advanced in civilisation. They now affect Hindu traditions, pretend to be descended from the defeated remnants of the Kooroos who fought the Pandavas, worship Siva and speak Hindee, but in appearance they are ultra-aboriginal, very black, with broad noses, and thick lips, and eat fowls, &c., bury most of their dead, and contemn Bramins; so that their Hindooism is scarcely skin-deep."

ḻāḻa was given them as landed proprietors, because the land-owners of the plains were so called, it is impossible to decide now. It is, however, an interesting coincidence that the Kunnuvas who inhabit the Paḻani hills are called and call themselves *Mannāḍi*. This compound is formed of மன், *man*, a contraction of *malai*, mountain, and *nāḍu*, country. *Mannāḍu* signifies thus mountain-country, and *mannāḍi*, mountaineer, as *Malaiyāḻam* denotes the country, and *Malaiyāḻi*, the inhabitant of Malabar.[98]

Besides *malai* another word *maṉ* occurs in the sense of mountain. *Maṉ* in Tamil signifies not only earth, but also mountain.[99] In the former sense it is identical with the Telugu *mannu*, and in the latter with *mannemu* or *manyamu*. *Mannedora* and *manyaḍu* denote a highland chieftain, and *manyaḍu* is a title of some Velama Rajas, while the hill-people are called *Mannevāru*. If the *Mons* of Pegu are called by the Burmese *Talaings*, who according to Sir Alexander Cunningham " must have emigrated from Telingana," the conjecture of connecting this term *Mon* with the Telugu *Mannemu* and the Tamil *Maṉ* appears permissible.

Considering that *Maṉkulattār*, *Gaṅgakulattār* and *Indrakulattār* are the three principal divisions of the Veḻḻāḻas, it seems now doubtful whether the term *maṉ* in *Maṉkulattār* should be explained as meaning earth or mountain.[100]

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98 See Dr. John Shortt's *Hill Ranges*, Part V, pp. 85–89. On p. 85 we read: " When a Manady marries, the whole tribe is represented on the occasion and to avoid unnecessary expense, marriages are generally put off until two, three or more can be celebrated at once . . . (On p. 86) The young man advances and ties the marriage string with the *Thalee* or symbol around the bride's neck; to complete the ceremony, a Poliar is called upon to announce a blessing on the new married couple." Read also *ibidem*, Part VI, pp. 42-46; on pp. 42-43: " The inhabitants of these High Ranges are Mudavars and . . . the mixed population of the villages in Unjenaad known as Kunuvers, Munnadies, and others may be considered inhabitants." Compare Mr. J. H. Nelson's *Manual of the Madura Country*, Part II, pp. 33–36.

99 See Dr. Winslow's *Tamil and English Dictionary*, p. 841: மன், s. The earth . . . 3. Hill, mountain.

100 See Part I, p. 62, No. 29, on the term *Mannepurāṇḍlu*, highlanders, being used to designate the Telugu Pariahs or *Mālalu*, and *ibidem*, p. 134, No. 100, on the terms *Veḻḻāḻa* and *Velama*. The Muhammedan rulers in

These remarks have been made with a view to introduce here the inhabitants of the Kunāwar district, which is situated in the Himalayan mountain range. The people of this country are generally known as Kunets or Kanets, but call themselves *Mon*. Sir Alexander Cunningham remarks: "With respect to the name of *Mon*, which is given to the "Kunets or Khasas by the Tibetans, it does not appear to be "a Tibetan word, as it is used by the Kunets themselves to "designate the ancient possessors of the hills, whom they "acknowledge to have been their own ancestors." On very slight, and, as I think, on very suspicious linguistic evidence does General Sir Alexander Cunningham connect the Mons of Kunāwar with the Kolarian Mundas, and thus with the Kolarian population of India. I, on the other hand, regard these Kunawāri Mons together with the Kulindas as a branch of the Gaudian tribe of the Gauda-Dravidian race, and even Sir Alexander Cunningham cannot deny the possibility of "a Gondish affinity for the Kunets." I have a very high respect for the earnest, indefatigable, and ingenious researches of the late chief of the Archæological Survey of India, but no single individual, however gifted, can write so much without occasionally committing errors, and if I disagree at times with General Sir Alexander Cunningham's statements and conclusions, I must acknowledge at the same time the great obligations I owe to him in common with all who consult his excellent writings.[101]

India conferred occasionally the title *Manya Sultan* on Velama chiefs and other princes. *Munya* in this sense stands for Manyadora, and has nothing in common with the Sanskrit word *Manya* from *man*, to consider.

[101] See Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XIV, pp. 125–135; more especially p. 127: "All the ancient remains within the present area of Kunet occupation are assigned to a people who are variously called Mowas, or Mons, or Motans, and all agree that they were the Kunets themselves . . At Dwāra Hāth there are numbers of monuments like tombs built of large flat tiles, which the people attribute to the *Mauwis* or *Monas*. These I take to be the monuments of the ancient Kunindas or Kunets before they were driven from Dwāra Hāth to Joshimath . . (P. 128). In Dhāmi and Bhāgal and in all the districts along the Satlej there are numerous

If the Kunets or Kunawaris are, as I believe, of Gaudian origin, the circumstance of their being called *Mon*, mountaineer, gains in importance; for this name can then be derived from a Gauda-Dravidian word. I feel inclined to derive the name of the inhabitants of Kunāwar, *i.e.*, of the ancient Kulindas and the modern Kunets, from the root *ku*, mountain. The etymology of the Madura term *Kunnuvar* from *Kunnu*, mountain, is evident, and is confirmed by the meanings of the other two names of this tribe, *i.e.*, *Koṛavar* and *Mannāḍikal*. Yet, it is doubtful, whether *Kunnava* is an original name or was afterwards adopted.

One of the peculiar features of the social habits of the Kunets is their strict adherence to the old Gauda-Dravidian custom of polyandry. Polyandry, it is true, does not actually prevail among the Southern Kunnavas, but a woman can take in succession as many husbands as she likes, though she is allowed only one at a time.

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remains of old stone buildings, many of them foundations of squared stones, all of which are attributed to the Maowis or Mons, the former rulers of the country . . I think it therefore very probable that the *Mons* of the Cis-Himalaya may be connected with the *Muṇḍas* of Eastern India, who are certainly the *Monedes* of Pliny, as well as with the *Mons* of Pegu. As these last are called *Talaings* by the Burmese, it would seem that they must have emigrated from Telingana, I would also suggest that the true name of Mongir was most probably *Monagiri*, and that the country of the *Mundas* or *Monedes* once extended northward as far as the Ganges at Mongir." See Csoma de Korosi, Geographical Notice of Tibet in *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*, vol. I, p. 122 : "The hill people of India who dwell next to the Tibetans are called by them by the general name of *Mon*, their country *Mon Yul*, a man *Mon-pa* or simply *Mon*, and a woman *Mon-mo*) . . (Pp. 131-132.) The language of the Kunets, like that of the Khas, just described by Mr. Hodgson, is a corrupt dialect of Hindi, but it still retains several traces of a non-Aryan language. Thus the word *ti*, for water of stream, is found all over the Kunet area. The word is not Tibetan, but occurs in the Milchang dialect of Lower Kunāwar. It is clearly connected with the *di* and *ti* of the E. Koch and Moch tribes, and with the *da* of the aboriginal Kolish dialects of Eastern and Central India, the Munda, Santhal, Ho, Kurī and Saur or Savara. Thus within the Kunet area are the following large streams. (1) Rāwa-ti, or Rāvi River. (2) Nyung-ti, or Biās River . . (P. 133). Several of the great rivers of Northern India have the Kolish affix *da*, as Pad-dā, Narma-dā, Bahu-da, etc. . . Dā-Muda, Da-Sān, . . Altogether I think the evidence of language, so far as it goes, points decidedly to a Kolish rather than to a Gondish affinity for the

No doubt these two tribes of the North and the South resemble each other strangely in their names and in their customs, but I am far from trying to force on them for these reasons any closer relationship than that which has from the first existed between them, namely that both of them formed part of the large Gauda-Dravidian race. Both are here mentioned together, as they afford an interesting example of similar sounding and nearly identical names being borne by two distinct, distant, and yet originally kindred tribes.[102]

CHAPTER XII.

On the Kuṟubas or Kuṟumbas.

Remarks about the name Kuṟumba.

The Kuṟubas or Kuṟumbas who form the subject of this enquiry represent the most important of all those tribes that have been already mentioned in this chapter, owing to the influential part they have played in the History of India, and the position they still occupy among the people of this country. However separated from each other and scattered

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Kunets and other mixed races of North-West India." The linguistic evidence so far as the Kunets are concerned is very weak, in fact *nihil.* Nothing proves that the *ti* of *Rāvati*, the Sanskrit Airāvati denotes river; and that a word like *da*, water, should in one and the same language be used in the same connection both at the beginning and the end of compounds as in *Bāhu-da*, *Narma-dā*, *Dā-Muda*, and *Da-Sān*, is against linguistic rules. About the Kolarian terms for water, *dā*, *doi*, *di*, *dat*, *ti* and *tui* compare Hislop's Papers, p. 27.

[102] Read Mr. J. H. Nelson's *Manual of Madura*, Part II, pp. 34-35: "In this way a woman may legally marry any number of men in succession, though she may not have two husbands at one and the same time. She may however bestow favors on paramours without hindrance, provided they be of equal caste with her. On the other hand a man may indulge in polygamy to any extent he pleases, and the wealthier Kunnuvans keep several wives as servants particularly for agricultural purposes. Among the Western Kunnuvans a very curious custom is said to prevail. When an estate is likely to descend to a female on default of male issue, she is forbidden to marry an adult, but goes through the ceremony of marriage with some young male child, or in some cases with a portion of her father's dwelling-house, on the understanding that she shall be at liberty to amuse herself with any man of

among the Dravidian clans with whom they have dwelt, and however distant from one another they still live, there is hardly a province in the whole of Bharatavarṣa which cannot produce, if not some living remnants of this race, at least some remains of past times which prove their presence.

Indeed, the Kuṟumbas must be regarded as very old inhabitants of this land, who can contest with their Dravidian kinsmen the priority of occupation of the Indian soil. The two rival tribes have in reality become so intermixed with each other, that according to the temporary superiority of the one or the other, the same district is at different times known as Vala(va)nāḍu and Kuṟumbanāḍu, while in some instances, when both tribes live more apart from each other, we find a Vallavanāḍu bordering on a Kuṟumbanāḍu.

In some parts of this country the Kuṟumbas are even now considered as the oldest existing remnant of the earliest stratum of the population. Some tracts and places of the Indian realm still bear their name, while some localities had their names changed after the collapse of the Kuṟumba supremacy. The well-known Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, of which Kāñcīpuram was once the capital, is said to have been previously called Kuṟumbabhūmi or Kuṟumbanāḍu. Kuṟumbaṟanāḍu forms still an integral portion of Malabar, and the forest-clad mountainous district of the Nīlagiri has preserved in many localities the ancient name of the Kuṟumbas. It may not be inappropriate to mention here that Valanāḍu

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her caste, to whom she may take a fancy: and her issue, so begotten, inherits the property, which is thus retained in the woman's family. Numerous disputes originate in this singular custom; and Madura Collectors have sometimes been puzzled not a little by evidence adduced to show that a child of three or four years was the son or daughter of a child of ten or twelve. The religion of the Kunnuvans appear to be the *Saiva*, but they worship their mountain god Valapau with far more devotedness than any other."

Compare also Sir W. W. Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. V, pp. 482-483: "In physique, the Kunāwāris are tall, athletic, well-made, and dark-skinned; while their character stands high for hospitality, truthfulness and honesty . . Polyandry everywhere exists in its fullest form."

is now known as the name of a district round Kāñcīpuram, and that Vaḻḻuvanāḍu is bordering on Kuṟumbaṟanāḍu.[103]

Before entering further on the discussion concerning the ethnology and history of the Kuṟumbas, I feel it incumbent on me to make a few linguistic remarks, which apply to the whole chapter. I have already derived their name from *kuṟu*, an enlarged form of *ko* (*ku*), mountain. A Kuṟuba or Kuṟumba signifies thus a mountaineer.

The terms Kuṟuba and Kuṟumba are originally identical, though the one form is in different places employed for the other, and has thus occasionally assumed a special local meaning. I have previously proved that even the wandering Koṟavas are direct offshoots from the same stem, in spite of their being now distinguished from the bulk of the Kuṟubas or Kuṟumbas by occupation and caste. Mr. H. B. Grigg appears to contradict himself when, while speaking of the Kuṟumbas, he says that "in the low country they are "called Kurubas or Cúrubâru, and are divided into numerous "families, such as the 'Âné' or Elephant, Nâya or Dog, "Mâlé or Hill Kurumbas." Such a distinction between Mountain-Kuṟumbas and Plain-Kuṟubas cannot be established. The Rev. G. Richter will find it difficult to prove that the *Kuṟubas* of Mysore are only called so as shepherds, and that no connection exists between these Kuṟubas and the Kuṟumbas. Mr. Lewis Rice calls the wild tribes as well as the shepherds *Kurubas*, but seems to overlook the fact that both terms are identical and refer only to the ethnological distinction. Instead of *Kuruba* he uses also occasionally *Kurumba*. In the Tamil language all the Kuṟumbas are

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[103] Or Veḻanāḍu. Near Chingleput in Vaḻanāḍu lies Vaḻḻam with an ancient temple on the top of the hill and Vaḻam in Tanjore is also situated on a height. I am not ignorant of the fact that the term *Valanāḍu* is generally explained as the *extensive* or *excellent district*. (See F. M. Ellis' *Mirāsi* Article, p. 229, and Mr. Nelson's *Manual*, Part II, p. 49.) In Mr. Nelson's *Manual of Madura* the Vallama Nāḍu in Tanjore is mentioned in Part II, on pp. 28 and 57 and "the Vella (Vala) Nādu, near Kāñchipuram (Conjeveram)," on p. 44, the *Vala Nāḍu* or excellent district of Madura on p. 49.

called *Kuṟumbar*, and, as we shall see hereafter, they are divided into *Aṇḍa* or *Aṇḍai-Kuṟumbar*, *Kambali-Kuṟumbar*, *Kuṟumba-Iḍaiyar*, *Cuṇṇāmbu-Kuṟumbar*, *&c.* The ethnological origin of Kuṟuba, shepherd, is proved by the occurrence of such terms as *Kuṟi-Kuṟuba*, Sheep-Kuṟuba, *Handi-Kuṟuba*, Pig-Kuṟuba. The Kuṟubas or Kuṟumbas embraced the occupation of herdsmen to such an extent, that the tribal designation became in course of time a professional one. In English the term *shepherd* is on the other hand used in such a general sense, that the original meaning of shepherd, as a herd of sheep, the German *Schafhirt,* is quite forgotten. The expression *Kuṟi-Kuṟuba* would mean *sheep-shepherd,* if the original signification of Kuṟuba were really shepherd.

Now it happens that one of the principal occupations of the Kuṟubas or Kuṟumbas is that of tending sheep, and by a peculiar coincidence *kuṟi* or *koṟi* is a common Gauda-Dravidian term for sheep, from which can also be derived the word *Kuṟuban,* in the sense of shepherd. In fact the term *kuṟuba* in Kanarese, *kuṟuban* in Malayālam and Tulu, and *golladu* or *gollavāḍu* in Telugu denote a shepherd, but the Tamil *kuṟumban* in the sense of shepherd refers only to the Kuṟumba shepherd, and the sheep peculiar to the Kuṟumbas is called *Kuṟumbāḍu*, in Tamil குறும்பாடு. So far as the Telugu *golladu* is concerned, I must at once remark that I think it incorrect to connect this word with the Sanskrit term *gō*, cow. Golladu or Gollavāḍu is derived from *golla* the Casus Constructus (*taṭamu*) in the plural of *gor̤r̤e*, sheep, plural *gor̤r̤elu* or *gorlu* changed into *gollu*. I have been since informed by reliable authority that in the Telugu-speaking districts the term *gollavāḍu* is particularly applied to herdsmen of sheep or shepherds. The Kuṟumba herdsmen are styled in Tamil *Kuṟumba Iḍaiyar*, and in Telugu *Kuṟumba Gollalu.*[104]

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[104] Compare Mr. Grigg's *Manual of the Nīlagiri District*, p. 208, Rev. G. Richter's *Ethnographical Compendium*, p. 11 (see note 108 on p. 206), and Mr. Lewis Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. III, pp. 20, 49, 57, 207, 208, 214, 216.

But we have also to deal with another word which resembles *kuṛu* mountain; this is the term *kuṛu* short, which occurs in Tamil, Malayālam, Tulu, Kanarese and Telugu. Peculiarly enough a large percentage of the Kuṛumbas, more especially those who inhabit the hill-ranges have a short almost dwarfish figure, so that the etymology may appear appropriate in their case. A similar derivation from the Malayālam *ceṛu*, small, in Tamil and Telugu *ciṛu*, is actually suggested to explain the name of the praedial slaves of Malabar, the ill treated *Ceṛamas* or *Ceṛumas.* This tribe is in reality called after their native country *Cēra*, of which they were, so far as we know, the original rulers, until they were suppressed and finally reduced to abject slavery by their present masters, the Nairs. The Kuṛumbas have shared a similar fate in many places. The *Ceṛamas* can therefore be compared with their fellow sufferers, the *Kuḍamas.*

The stunted growth of animals and plants in cold, wet and high elevations is a well-known natural law, to which the human species has also to submit. In consequence of their loneliness and comparative physical weakness, the small

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In the late Mr. C. P. Brown's *Telugu-English Dictionary* we find *gollata,* గొల్లత, given as signifying a woman of the cowkeeper caste, and *gollatamu,* గొల్లతము, as the cowherd class. This is, I think, not quite correct. Later Telugu Lexicographers have adopted and perpetuated the mistake of Mr. Brown. The same meaning is contained in Kanarese dictionaries, as Kanarese also possesses the word *golla,* as a caste of herdsmen. The Kanarese term is most likely taken from Telugu. Mr. W. Logan speaks in his *Malabar Manual,* vol. I, p. 114, of the Koruba Golla as herdsmen. Compare Dr. Buchanan's *Travels,* vol. II. pp. 433, 434: "Sheep are an object of great importance, and are of the kind called *Curi* in the language of Karnata. They are kept by two castes, the *Curubaru* and *Goalaru.* A man of either caste, who possesses a flock of sheep, is by the Mussulmans called a Donigar. The *Curubaru* are of two kinds; those properly so called, and those named *Handy* or *Cumly Curubaru.* The *Curubaru* proper, and the *Goalaru,* are sometimes cultivators, and possess the largest flocks; but they never make blankets. . . The flocks contained by the former two castes contain from 30 to 300 breeding-lives."

The Gollas of *Aurangabad* appear to be identical with the wandering Kuṛuvas; for according to the Gazetteer of that district (p. 309): "The Gollars move about with droves of asses, or are employed as goatherds. They

mountaineers, when they meet their taller but less clever neighbours of the plains, display often a spiteful distrust, use poisonous arrows and frighten them by their mysterious proceedings into abject superstition. This is the reason why the Kuṛumbas of the Nīlagiri Hills are so shunned; and why dwarfs in general are treated with suspicion, as is shown by the well-known native proverb: "One may trust a thief, but not a dwarf."

When pointing out the different meanings of the word *paḻḻi*, I specially drew attention to the fact that it signified originally a Dravidian village or town, and remarkably enough the Gaudian Kuṛumbas also possess similar terms, which must have been at first applied to their villages. I speak of *kuṛicci*, a village in mountainous regions, and *kuṛumbu*, a village situated in desert tracts.

Moreover to the Dravidian Paḻḻavan, as chief of the Paḻḻa people, corresponds the Gaudian *Kuṛuppu*, the Kuṛumba headman in the Kuṛumbaṛanāḍu of Malabar.

On the sub-divisions among the Kuṛumbas.

The Kuṛumbas represent a very numerous community, who are subdivided into many classes. Most of these subdivisions indicate either the place of their habitation, or the pursuit and profession they follow to gain their livelihood. In some cases these professional terms have become tribal names. In the various provinces of the Indian Empire and in the different vernaculars of this country distinct names are given to the several subdivisions, so that the same class is called differently in sundry districts; the Tamil and Kanarese descriptions differ thus in their nomenclature.

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rear dogs, hunt jackals, iguanas, and wild animals, and live in the neighbourhood of towns and villages. The women beg, and are said to be great thieves."

In the last Census Report the Gollas are divided into Erra, Gauda, Kadu, Kannadi, Karna, Kuruba, Mushti, Pūja, Pūri, Peddeti and Uru Gollas, Kurumbas and Yadavulu. They are classed as Dravidians, and number 1,258,786 souls.

The Kuṟumbas are as jealous about their social position as the other Hindus.[105] They have fought and are still fighting when the opportunity occurs with great pertinacity against any real or imaginary encroachments on their rights of precedence. Very serious disturbances used to take place at the great annual festival held about February in the Śiva shrine at *Muḍukuturai* in the Kollegal Tālūk, where about 50,000 people assemble on the banks of the Kāvēri, and

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[105] About the ensigns compare Part I, pp. 91, 92, note 59.

See Mackenzie Collection, No. 9, C.M. 763, XII; No. 11, C.M. 765; No. 14, C.M. 768, VIII; No. 20, C.M. 774, X, and Dr. Francis Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, vol. I, pp. 274–276, 312, 379–381, 389; vol. II, pp. 3, 40, 155, 156, 433–436. In vol. I, pp. 274–276 he says: "The *Curubaru* are an original caste of *Karnāta*, and, wherever they are settled, retain their language. They are divided into two tribes, that have no communion, and which are called *Handy Curubaru*, and *Curubaru* proper. The last again are divided into a number of families; such as the *Any*, or elephant Curubaru; the *Hal*, or Milk Curubaru; the *Colli*, or fire C.; the *Nelly C.*; the *Sāmanta C.*; the *Coti C.*; the *Asil C.*; and the *Murhindina Curubaru*. These families are like the *Gōtrams* of the Brāhmans; it being considered as incestuous for two persons of the same family to intermarry. The proper *Curubas* have hereditary chiefs, who are called *Gaudas*, whether they be headmen of villages or not, and possess the usual jurisdiction. Some of them can read accompts, but they have no book. The proper duty of the caste is that of shepherds, and of blanket-weavers; and in general they have no other dress than a blanket. A few of those who are rich have betaken themselves to the luxury of wearing cotton cloth next their skin; for all castes and ranks in this country wear the blanket as an outer garment. The dress of the women resembles that of the females of the kingdom of *Ava*. The blanket is put behind the back, and the two upper corners, being brought forward under the arms, are crossed over the bosom, and secured by the one being tucked under the other. As their blanket is larger than the cloth used by the women of *Ava*, the dress is more decent. The *Curubaru* were, besides, *Candachara*, or militia; cultivators, as farmers, as servants, and as gardeners; *Attavana*, or the armed men who serve the *Amildars*; *Anchay*, or post-messengers, and porters. They are allowed to eat animal food, but in most places are not permitted to drink spirituous liquors. In other places this strictness is not required, and almost everywhere they intoxicate themselves with palm-wine. The women are very industrious, and perform every kind of work except digging and ploughing. Even after the age of puberty they continue marriageable, and can only be divorced for adultery. In this caste the custom of *Cutiga*, or concubinage, prevails; that is, all adulteresses who are turned away by their husbands, and have not gone astray with a strange man, and all girls and widows, to whom a life of celibacy is disagreeable, may live with any man of the caste who chooses to keep them. They are looked down upon by their more virtuous sisters; but

Government had to interfere and to arrange that the Kuṟumbas and the Gaṅgaḍikāras should attend the fair on different days, so as to prevent their meeting each other. On another occasion the Kuṟumbas collected and spent about 10,000 rupees to obtain from the records in Kāñcīpuram documentary evidence in confirmation of their claims. One of the disputes between the Kuṟumbas and the Gaṅgaḍikāras concerns the question who are the Indraśūdras and who the

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still they are admitted into company, and are not out-casts. Among the *Curubaru*, the children of concubines do not form a separate caste, but are allowed to marry with those of a pure breed. By a connection with any man, except a *Curuba*, a woman becomes an entire out-cast. The men take several wives; and, if they be good workers, do not always divorce them for adultery; but as they thus incur some disgrace, they must appease the anger of their kindred by giving them an entertainment, and the *Guru* generally interposes his authority to prevent a separation. The *Curubas* believe, that those men who die without having been married become *Vīrikas*, to whose images, at a great annual feast, which is celebrated on purpose, offerings of red cloth, *jagory* rice, &c., are made. If this feast be omitted, the *Vīrikas* become enraged, occasion sickness, kill the sheep, alarm the people by horrid dreams, and, when they walk out at night, strike them on the back. They are only to be appeased by the celebration of the proper feast. The peculiar god of the caste is *Bir'-uppa*, or father *Biray*, one of the names of *Siva*; and the image is in shape of the *Linga;* but no other person prays to *Siva* under his name, nor offers sacrifices to that god, which is the mode by which the *Curubas* worship *Bir'-uppa*. The priests who officiate in the temples of this deity are *Curubas*. Their office is hereditary, and they do not intermarry with the daughters of laymen. In some districts, the *Curubas* worship another god, peculiar, I believe, to themselves. He is called *Battay Devaru*, and is a destructive spirit. They offer sacrifices to him in woods, by the sides of rivulets, or ponds. The carcasses of the animals killed before the image are given to the barber and washerman, who eat them. Besides these, the *Curubaru* offer sacrifices to the *Saktis*, and pray to every object of superstition (except *Dharma Rāja*) that comes in their way. They are considered too impure to be allowed to wear the *Linga*, as their *Guru* does. This person is called a *Wodear*, or *Jangama;* but he is married, and his office is hereditary. His title is *Rāvana Sidhēswara*, and he originally lived at *Sarur*, which is near *Kalyānapattana*. At his visits he bestows consecrated ashes, and receives charity. He has a fixed due on marriages, and sends his agents to collect it. At some of their ceremonies the *Panchānga* attends, and acts as Purohita." On page 312 Buchanan says: "The *Curubas* here (in Tumkūr) say, that at a temple of *Bhairawa* at *Herray Samudra*, which is near *Mercasera*, to the north of this place, and where one of their caste acts as *Pūjāri*, the image represents a man sitting on horseback with the *Linga* round his neck, and a drawn sword in his hand, they offer sacrifices to this image and eat the flesh. The family of *Rāvana* have now spread all over the country; but *Sarur* is still considered as the proper family

Śukraśūdras; the Kuṛumbas claiming to be *Indraśūdras* and calling the Gaṅgaḍikāras *Śukraśūdras*, and *vice versâ*. The former expression indicates the issue of married, and the latter that of unmarried women.

They carry an enormous white umbrella and a flag with the figure of a bull, and of this umbrella they proudly say that it covers the world. It is therefore known as *Jagajampina sattige*.

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seat. Their *Guru* has the power of restoring any out-cast to the enjoyment of full communion. They have a book peculiar to the caste called *Jiraga Chapagodu*. It is written in the language of *Karnāta*, and gives an account of the tribe. The Curubaru buy their wives, a girl of a good family costs from 30 to 40 *fanams*; a girl of the bastard or *Cutiga* breed costs 15 *fanams*, or 10*s*." On pp. 379–81 he describes the Kāḍu and Beṭṭa Kuṛumbas: "The *Cad' Curubaru* are a rude tribe of *Karnāta*, who are exceedingly poor and wretched. In the fields near villages they build miserable low huts, have a few rags only for covering, and the hair of both sexes stands out matted like a mop, and swarms with vermin. Their persons and features are weak and unseemly, and their complexion is very dark. Some of them hire themselves as labouring servants to the farmers, and, like those of other castes, receive monthly wages. Others, in crop season, watch the fields at night, to keep off the elephants and wild hogs . . Their manner of driving away the elephant is by running against him with a burning torch made of bamboos. . . The *Curubaru* have no means of killing so large an animal . . The wild hogs are driven out of the fields by slings . . These poor people frequently suffer from tigers, against which their wretched huts are a poor defence; and, when this wild beast is urged by hunger, he is regardless of their burning torches. The *Curubaru* have dogs, with which they catch deer, antelopes and hares; and they have the art of taking in snares peacocks, and other esculent birds. They have no hereditary chiefs, but assemble occasionally to settle the business of their caste. They confine their marriages to their own tribe. The *Gauda*, or chief man of the village, presides at this ceremony, which consists of a feast. During this the bridegroom espouses his mistress, by tying a string of beads around her neck. The men are allowed to take several wives, and both girls after the age of puberty, and widows are permitted to marry. In case of adultery, the husband flogs his wife severely, and if he be able, beats her paramour. If he be not able, he applies to the *Gauda*, who does it for him. The adulteress has then her choice of following either of the men as her husband. They can eat everything except beef; and have no objection to the animal having died a natural death. . . They do not drink spiritous liquors. None of them take the vow of *Dāsēri* nor attempt to read. Some of them burn, and others bury the dead. They believe that good men, after death, will become benevolent *Dēvas*, and bad men destructive *Dēvas*. . . The spirits of the dead are believed to appear in dreams to their old people, and to direct them to make offerings of fruits to a female deity, named *Bettada Chicama*; that is, the little mother of the hill. Unless these offerings are made, this goddess occasions sickness;

I have been informed that there exist as many as 23 Kuṛumba subdivisions.

The Mackenzie Manuscripts contain in this respect valuable information about the Tamil Kuṛumbas, while Dr. Francis Buchanan supplies interesting accounts of the Kanarese Kuṛumbas. Among such distinctions may be mentioned the *Malai* or *Beṭṭa Kuṛumbas*, who are confined to the mountains, and the *Kāḍu Kuṛumbas*, who dwell in forests. It is probable that the *Muḷḷu Kuṛumbas*, who are

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but she is never supposed to do her votaries any good. She is not, however, appeased by bloody sacrifices. There is a temple dedicated to her near *Nunjinagodu;* but there is no occasion for the offering being made at that place. There is also in this neighbourhood (of *Hegodu Devana Cotay*) another rude tribe of *Curubaru*, called *Betta*, or *Malaya*, both words signifying mountain, the one in the *Karnāta*, and the other in the *Tamil* language. . . They are not so wretched nor ill-looking as the *Cad' Curubaru*, but are of diminutive stature. They live in poor huts near the villages, and the chief employment of the men is the cutting of timber, and making of baskets . . . . The *Betta Curubaru* have an hereditary chief called *Ijyamāna*, who lives at *Priya-pattana*. . . In this tribe, the concubines, or *Cutigas*, are women that prefer another man to their husband, or widows who do not wish to relinquish carnal enjoyment. Their children are not considered as illegitimate.

"Girls are not considered as marriageable until after the age of puberty, custom that by the higher orders is considered as a beastly depravity. The men may take several wives, but never marry a woman of the same family with themselves in the male line. The *Betta Curubaru* never intoxicate themselves; but are permitted to eat every kind of animal food except beef, and they have no objection to carrion. They never take the vow of *Dasēri*, and none of them can read. Some of them burn, and others bury their dead. They understand nothing of a future state. The god of the caste is *Ejuruppa*, who seems to be the same with *Hanumanta*, the servant of *Rama*, but they never pray to this last-mentioned deity although they sometimes address *Siva*. To the god of their caste they offer fruit, and a little money; they never sacrifice to the *Saktis*. Their *Guru*, they say, is of the caste *Wotimeru*, and from their description would appear to be of those people called *Satananas*." On p. 389: "*Bhairawa Dēvaru* is the god of the *Curubas*, and is a malevolent male spirit . . . . The *Pujari*, or priest, is a *Hal Curubaru*, who can neither read nor write." Compare further vol. II, pp. 3, 42, 433–436: "The Curubaru are of two kinds; those properly so called, and those named *Handy* or *Cumly Curubaru*. The *Curubaru* proper, and the *Goalaru*, are sometimes cultivators, and possess the largest flocks; but they never make blankets. The *Handy Curubas* abstain entirely from cultivation, and employ themselves in tending their flocks, and manufacturing the wool. . . The *Handy Curubaru* . . . are a caste living in the *Harapunya-hully* and *Chatrakal*

found in the Nīlagiri Mountains, are so called from *mu̱ḻḻu*, thorn, as they live among the jungle; if so, the term is to some extent synonymous with *Kāḍu Kuṟumbas.* Some think that the word *muḻḻu* may apply to their arrows, as these sturdy, well-made mountaineers are never seen without their bows and arrows. As regards their neighbours whom the Rev. F. Metz, otherwise a great authority on this subject, calls *Naya Kurumbas*, and Mr. Grigg *Náya or Dog Kurumbas*, I have ascertained on reliable authority that their name is in reality not *Nāya* but *Nāyaka Kuṟumbas*, and that they are held in respect by the neighbouring tribes. The *Muḻḻu*

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districts, and are of Karnāta descent. . . All those who have settled in that (*Marattah*) country being horsemen, they are called *Handay Ravalar*, a name pronounced Rawut by the Mussulmans, and by them frequently applied to every kind of *Curubas* . . . The deities, whom this caste consider as their peculiar objects of worship, are *Bira Deva*, and his sister *Mayava*. *Bira* is, they say, the same with *Iswara*, and resides in Kailasa . . There is only one temple of *Bira*, which is situated on *Curi Betta*, or the sheep hill, on the banks of the Krishna, near the Poonah. There is also only one temple dedicated to *Mayava*. It is near the Krishna, at a place named *Chinsuli*. Once in ten years, every man of the caste ought to go to these two temples; but a great many do not find leisure for the performance of this duty. These deities do not receive bloody sacrifices, but are worshipped by offerings of fruit and flowers. The priests (*Pujaris*) at both these temples are *Curubaru*, and, as the office is hereditary, they of course marry. . Besides the worship of the deities proper to the caste, the Curubas offer sacrifices to some of the destructive spirits, such as *Durgawa*, *Jacani*, and *Barama Deva*. . . The *Curubaru* have no trouble from *Pysachi*; and ordinary *Butas*, or devils, they believe, are expelled by prayer addressed to the deities of the caste. At *Hujiny*, in the *Harapunya-hully* district, resides *Ravana Siddheswara*, the *Guru* of this caste." In his description of Malabar, Buchanan speaks in vol. II., pp. 156–158 of the Curumbalum or Catalun in Kuṟumbaṟanāḍu: "Another caste of *Malayala*, condemned to slavery, is called in the singular *Catal* or *Curumbal*, and in the plural *Catalam* or *Curumbalun*. They reckon themselves higher than the Churman, Polian, or Parian. The deity is worshipped by this caste under the name of *Malayadēvan*, or the god of the hill, and is represented by a stone placed on a heap of pebbles. This place of worship is on a hill, named *Turuta Malay*, near *Sivapurata*, in *Curumbara Nada*. To this place the *Catalun* annually go, and offer their prayers, coco-nuts, spirituous liquors, and such like, but make no sacrifices, nor have they any kind of priest. They pray chiefly for their own worldly happiness, and for that of their relations. The spirits of good men after death are supposed to have the power of inflicting disease, and are appeased by offerings of distilled and fermented liquors, which the votary drinks after he has called upon the spirit to take such part of them

Kuṛumbas live particularly on the eastern side of the hills in their middle belts, while the *Nāya* or *Nāyaka Kuṛumbas* inhabit generally the lower slopes of this range as well as of the Wynaad. It appears that the latter are identical with those who are elsewhere called *Jēnu Kuṛumbas*, or Honey Kuṛumbas, because they gather honey for their own use as well as for sale. These Jēnu Kuṛumbas are also found in Kurg.

About the Kuṛumbas of the Nīlagiri-Mountain-range, we are favoured with various pretty accurate accounts. Among these deserve special mention the writings of the late Rev. Ferdinand Metz [106] of the Basel Lutheran Mission, who

as will pacify his resentment. The dead bodies of good men are burned, but those of bad men, in order to confine their spirits, are buried ; for, if they escape, they are supposed to occasion great trouble. It is not customary, however, to make any offerings to these evil spirits. This caste has no hereditary chiefs ; but disputes are settled by the elders who never inflict a severer punishment than a mulct of some *Betel-leaf*. . . The tradition here is, that *Cheruman Permal* divided the whole of *Malayala* among four families, who were called *Rājās*, but whose dominions were afterwards subdivided amongst innumerable petty chiefs, and younger branches of the original families. These four families, however, always maintained a superiority of rank, which they at this day retain. They are, the *Coluta-nada Rājā*, commonly called *Cherical* ; the *Venatra*, or *Rājā of Travancore ;* the *Perumburupa*, or *Cochi Rājā*, and the *Ernada*, or *Tamuri*. The dominions of the latter were originally very small. The same story concerning them is told here (*Pyur* or *Eivurmalay*) that was related at Calicut. In process of time the *Curumbara* family, who seem to have been a branch descended from the *Cochi Rājās*, seized on a part of *Coluta-nada*, which included all the northern parts of *Malayala*. Among other usurpations, this family seized on *Eivurmalay*, of which they were afterwards stript by the ancestors of the three *Waunamar*. Another Kshatriya family called *Cotayhutty* (*Cotiote*), who seem to have been descended from a younger sister of the *Curumbara Rājās*, seized on another portion of *Coluta-nada* lying between *Tellicherry* and the *Ghats*. The *Curumbara Nada Rājās* became extinct in the *Malabar* year 954 (1778-1779), five years after *Hyder* invaded the country."

About the Kuṛumbas of Southern India consult also Abbé Dubois' *Description of the People of India*, second edition, p. 342, and the *Manual of Madura* by Mr. J. H. Nelson, Part II, pp. 64, 65.

106 Compare Rev. F. Metz *The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, pp. 115-126 : "The Todas divide the Kurumbas into three classes—The Mullu Kurumbas, the Naya Kurumbas, and the Panias. The two latter live in the Wynaad. The Panias are not looked upon as sorcerers, as are the other two classes, and are chiefly employed as the laborers of the Badagas who

spent the best part of his life in intimate intercourse with the hill-tribes, among whom he commanded the highest respect for the genuine kindness he showed to them and the utter unselfishness he displayed towards the amelioration of their position. Very valuable information is also contained in the writings of the late Colonel Ouchterlony, in the *Account* of the late Mr. J. Wilkinson Breeks, Commissioner of

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have settled in the Wynaad. Each Badaga district has its own Kurumba priest, who comes up at the ploughing season, and sows the first handful of grain; and at harvest time also before the sickle is put to the crop. And if a standing crop should at any time be attacked by insects, he is sent for, and has to go through the ceremony of lowing like a calf, which the Badagas believe has the effect of killing the insect. . The Mullu and Naya Kurumbas are believed to possess the power of killing men by sorcery, and so greatly are they feared that, if a Badaga meet a Kurumba in a jungle alone, death from sheer terror is not unfrequently the consequence. . . The cairns and cromlechs found in various parts of the hills, . . were, I think, probably the work of the ancestors of the Kurumbas. . . During the 13 years that I have labored amongst and mixed with the hill-tribes, I have never found the Todas in any way interested in the cairns, whilst the fact of their making no objections to their being opened, taken in connection with the circumstance of the contents frequently consisting of parts of plough-shares, sickles, and other implements of husbandry, showing that the cairns were constructed by an agricultural race which the Todas never were, are to me convincing proofs that they are not the work of the Todas of a past generation. The Badagas and Kotas, on the other hand, are to a certain degree afraid to approach them . . I was once on a preaching excursion in a district near the southern boundary of the hills, and not very far from the principal Kurumba village, called Mulli, and after the labors of the day felt a curiosity to open a cairn which happened to be in the neighbourhood. Much to my surprise however the Badaga headmen present would not permit me to do so, not on account of any objections they had themselves to make, but because, as they said, it was the residence of the god of the Kurumbas, who came up frequently from Mulli in order to worship the god of their forefathers. This is the only occasion on which I have ever known any of the hill tribes venerate a cairn, as the depository of the ashes of a deceased ancestor; but, viewed in connection with what I have already stated, I think it is sufficient to justify the supposition that the Kurumbas of old, when masters of the tableland may have constructed these remarkable cemeteries; and this consideration is further borne out by the fact that the common tradition among Todas, Badagas, and Kotas, is that they are the graves of a very wicked race of people, who, though diminutive in stature, were at the same time powerful enough to raise the large blocks of granite of which the walls of Hoolicaldroog are built; and that God drove them from the hills on account of their wickedness—a description which would well apply to the case of the Kurumbas, who, in addition to being feared and detested, are as a race much stunted in their

the Nīlagiris, in the reports of Deputy-Surgeon-General Dr. John Shortt, and in the exhaustive and valuable *Manual of the Nīlagiri District* compiled by Mr. H. B. Grigg, late Assistant Commissioner of the Nīlagiris.[107]

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growth. The cromlechs were doubtless the work of the same people as the cairns. . The Kurumbas call their deity Kuribattaraya, meaning, Lord or possessor of sheep and to him they now and then sacrifice a goat or a fowl."

[107] Compare Dr. Shortt's Article on the Kurumbas in the *Hill Ranges of Southern India*, Part I, pp. 47–53 : " *Kurumbas*—From குறும்பு (Kurumboo) mischief, the characteristic of a class of savages who are supposed to be the aborigines of Southern India, from which the term Kurumba is derived. A tribe, who call themselves, and are recognized as Kurumbas, having three sub-divisions among them, viz. :—1. Mullu Kurumba. 2. Naya Kurumba. 3. Panias Kuramba. . . The *Mullu Kurumbas* chiefly occupy the middle belts of these hills, while the other two divisions are confined to the lower slopes, or are inhabitants of the Wynaad jungles, but the tribe generally is recognized as mountaineers. . The Kurumba tribe are small in stature, and have a squalid and somewhat uncouth appearance from their peculiar physiognomy, wild matted hair, and almost nude bodies. . They are as a body sickly-looking, pot-bellied, large-mouthed, prognathous, with prominent out-standing teeth and thick lips—frequently saliva dribbles away from their mouths. . . The men show great agility in climbing and descending hills, trees, &c. The women have much the same features as the men, only somewhat softened in expression, and slightly modified in feature, with a small pug nose, and surly aspect. . Their villages are termed *Motta*. . They have no furniture. . They have no marriage ceremony. . Those Kurumbas who live on the Hills officiate as priests to the Badagas. . The Badaga will do nothing without the presence of a Kurumba, so that each district has its own Kurumba priest. . He is supposed to be well versed in the use of herbs, and prescribes for all ailments; implicit confidence is placed in his skill, and he is remunerated either in money or grain, and sometimes both. The Kurumbas also officiate as priests at their marriages and deaths. . . The Kurumbas, as a body, keep the other tribes in great dread of witchcraft, not even excepting the Todas, who look upon the Kurumbas as great adepts in the power and skill of bewitching or destroying men, animals, or other property. . . The Kurumbas are also employed as musicians by the Toda and Badaga tribes on all ceremonial and festive occasions ; they play on the flute and tom-tom very dexterously to the admiration of the Todas and Badagas. . They withstand the endemic diseases of the locality pretty well, and are not subject to fever. . They hold some crude notions of a superior being, whom they designate under a variety of names, with no distinct idea as to who or what he is. . The Kurumbas are superstitious, and while they keep all the other tribes on these Hills in awe, they themselves fear the Todas, believing that they possess supernatural powers over them. . They are said to hold in respect, and make offerings at, the different cairns and cromlechs met with on these Hills, and from which it is believed that these cairns and cromlechs are the work of their ancestors. Against this, their weak and dwarfed stature is brought

So far as the Kurumbas of Kurg are concerned, we are mainly indebted to the Rev. G. Richter who wrote an *Ethno-*

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forward as an objection, as most of these cairns and cromlechs are built of huge stones, such as it is believed the Kurumba tribe could not move in the absence of suitable appliances. . . Some of the Todas do attribute the cairns and cromlechs to the Kurumbas."

Consult further the late Mr. James Wilkinson Breeks' *Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nīlagiris*, pp. 48-66 : "In the Tabulated Census Returns they are entered under the following castes or divisions :—Eda Kurumban, Karmadiya Kurumban, Kurumban, Kurumban Okkiliyan, Male Kurumban, Pāl Kurumban. . They generally, however, say they have no caste, but are divided into *bīgas* or families, which do not intermarry. It is difficult to get a complete account of the tribal divisions recognised by them. One man will name you one (his own); another two divisions; another three, and so on. The headman of the village enumerated four :— 1. *Betta Kurumbas* who live on the slopes, and near the Mysore ditch. 2. *Kambale Kurumbas*, who make blankets (cambly), and live in the low country, in the Konguru (Coimbatore). 3. *Mullu Kurumbas* (he did not know where they lived). 4. *Anda Kurumbas*, who, like himself, live on the eastern slopes. Pāl Kurumbas are also vaguely mentioned sometimes. . Some Kurumbas whom I have met with, profess, in answer to inquiries, to worship Siva, and occasionally women mark their forehead with the Saiva spot. Others, living near Barliār, worship Kuribattrāya (lord of many sheep), and the wife of Siva under the name of Musni. They worship also a rough round stone under the name of Hiriadēva, setting it up either in a cave or in a circle of stones like the so-called ' Kurumba Kovil ' of the Badagas, which the latter seem to have borrowed from the Kurumbas. . They do not consider the stone as a *lingam*, although they profess to be Saivites. . Each Badaga *Grāma*, with its group of villages, keeps a Kurumba priest called *Kāni Kurumba*. . The office is hereditary. In April and May, before sowing time, a goat or young male buffalo is supplied by the cultivators, and the Kāni Kurumba is summoned to make the sacrifice. Surrounded by the villagers, the officiating priest cuts off the head of the animal, and sprinkles the blood in three directions, east, west, and south, and also on a water-worn stone, which is considered as a "*hutu* (natural) *lingam*." No words are spoken, but after the sprinkling, the Kurumba clasps his hands behind his head, shouting *Do, Do, Do*, three times and bows the head to ' Mother Earth.' The priest gets the head, and the Badagas the body, of the goat, which is taken home and eaten. In the Jakāneri Grāma this ceremony is performed at the cromlech; in Tenād, at a rude circle of stone surrounding a water-worn stone for a *lingam*. They call the place the ' Kurumba Kovil ' (Kurumba Church)... The Kurumbas near Rangaswāmi's Peak told me that some Kurumbas buried their dead, but that they themselves burned theirs, and that the nearest relatives next day took some boiled rice in a cloth and a small round stone, and perhaps a bone from the funeral pile, and deposited them for the dead in the *Sāvumane* (death-house) belonging to the *Motta*. At Barliār they do the same. These *Sāvumanes* are small cromlechs of three upright stones and a covering slab; they said they did not now make them, but that they used those made by their forefathers. . They knew of no god peculiar to the Kurumbas, nor

graphical Compendium . . of Coorg ; but the *Gazetteer* of *Mysore and Coorg* by Mr. Lewis Rice should also be consulted.[108]

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had they any temple, but at a certain season they took offerings of plantains to the *Pujāri* (a Tamil man) who attended on Maleswara (lord of the mountain), the god who lived on a hill known by that name."—I take the *Eda* to be the *Idaiya Kuṟumba.*

Compare with these extracts Colonel Ouchterlony's *Geographical and Statistical Memoir* . . of the *Neilgherry Mountains*, pp. 62, 63 in Dr. Shortt's *Hill Ranges*, Part I, and Mr. H. B. Grigg's Chapter on the Kuṟumbas in his *Manual of the Nīlagiri District*, pp. 208–217.

[108] About the Kuṟumbas of Kurg consult Rev. G. Richter's *Ethnographical Compendium . . . of Coorg*, pp. 11–15. " The Kurumbas of Coorg are closely connected with those of the jungles of South-Mysore and with the Kurumbas of the Nilgiries, . . but there is now no intercourse between them, nor have they any connexion with the shepherd caste of Mysore, the *Kurubas* who live in the open country in mixed villages and tend cattle, sheep and swine and also weave cumblies, whence they are called *Halu-*, *Kuri*, *Handi-* and *Cambli Kurubas.* The *Kurumbas* in Coorg are divided into two distinct sections, the *Jénu* and the *Beṭṭa Kurumbas.* The *Jénu Kurumbas* are found in the north and south-east of Coorg scattered in the jungles. They have no fixed abode but wander about from place to place in search of honey, hence their name, *Jénu* meaning honey in Kanarese. . In appearance the *Jénu Kurumbas* are not unlike the *Betta Kurumbas ;* but the men do not tie their hair in a knot, and from carelessness it often gets matted. . The women who dress like the Canarese *Vokkaligas* tie their rather curly hair into a knot at the back of the head. Those I saw had regular features and might have been taken for *Vokkaligas.* . Also in their wedding ceremonies they conform to those of the *Vokkaligas*, but worship *Kari Kali* at Kutta like the Coorgs. . . The name *Beṭṭa* or *Kadu Kurumbas* is derived from their abode. . A short flat nose, which in the women is turned up with deep indentation at the root, prominent lips, small dark deep-set eyes do not enhance the personal attractiveness of the *Beṭṭa Kurumba*, yet he is a harmless good-humoured fellow and industrious at his work as long as it pleases him. He loves above all things personal freedom and independence and is quite in is native element when roaming about on a hunting expedition as tracker of large game. . . In their religious practices they are devoted to demon worship and once within three years they bring the usual offering (*Kanike*) of money, fowl, cocoanut and plantains to *Kuttadamma* or *Karinkali* (Black Kali) at *Kurchi* near the south-east frontier of Coorg. The eatables are shared between the *pujari* who is a Vokkaliga, and the devotee. At the *Kuttadamma Jatri* (March-April) the *Betta Kurumbas* perform a dance accompanied by drum and gong ; they also wear small round bells (*gejje*) below the knee and in a stooping posture with outstretched arms and clenched fists they vigorously move round. They do not venerate snakes, but kill them, nor do they apply *Vibhuti* or sacred ashes. The *Betta Kurumbas* are divided into two sections or gotras, the *Mundpadi*, literally families belonging to three hamlets, and the *Yelpadi* or families belonging to seven hamlets, and as among the higher castes of Hindus, members of the same *gotra*, do not intermarry . . . Their principal *Bhutas* are *Ajja* and *Kuda.* . . In case of sickness what remedies are known to the elders are applied and vows made to the demon, *Kuttadamma*, and fulfilled on recovery.

According to their rank the first to be considered are the *Aṇḍa Kuṟumbas* who superintend the administration. Next follow the *Kuṟumba Okkaligas* or agricultural Kuṟumbas whom we find mentioned in the Nīlagiri Census Report. Though the number assigned to them is very insignificant, the circumstance of their being reported at all is highly interesting, for it supplies a link to connect them with a respectable and influential class of people in Mysore, the well-known *Okkaligaru*. *Okkalu*, pronounced Vokkalu, signifies in Kanarese 'tenancy,' *okkalatana*, husbandry, and *okkaliga*, a farmer or cultivator. Dr. Buchanan calls this caste, which is very numerous in Mysore, also *Cunabis*. These I shall eventually identify with the Kunbis, Kumbis (Kurmis) or Kuḍumbis, the agricultural class to which Śivāji, the great Maratha chieftain belonged who with his Kuḍumbis of Kuḍumba or Kuṟumba extraction effected such a change in the political aspect of India, some two hundred years ago. The sentence in the text of Buchanan leaves it doubtful, whether he referred to the *Cunabis* as an ethnological or professional distinction. Not all, perhaps not even the majority of the Okkaligas of Mysore are of Kuṟumba origin. With the exception of the abovementioned Gaṅgaḍikāras and the Noṇaba Okkaligas, the others appear to have been later settlers in Mysore. Their name implies only an occupation, but it is a remarkable fact that many Okkaligas, who do not cultivate the soil are engaged in similar pursuits such as the Kuṟumbas embrace. Both tribes for instance have a predilection for a military life, and, what is more suggestive still, both communities are under the same Gurus, or spiritual superiors, the chief of whom resides at Kaṅgundi in

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Their dead are buried, the corpse being placed sideways with the head to the west. A widow may be remarried to a relative of the deceased husband, but not to a stranger . . Of the Mysore and Nilgiri *Kurumbas* it is said that they eat the flesh of the cow, but those in Coorg abhor it."

The Rev. G. Richter is, according to my opinion (see p. 193), mistaken in his tribal distinction between the Kuṟumbas and the Kuṟubas.

Bara-mahal. The Pūjāri of the Beṭṭa Kuṟumbas in Kurg is also an Okkaliga. The last Census Report fixes their number at 711,622 souls. The Mysore Okkaligas have some peculiar customs, not the least extraordinary among them being that which prevails among the women of the Morasa Okkaligas, who cut off the ring and little fingers of their right hand, before they celebrate the marriage of their eldest daughter.[109]

The shepherds are known as *Kuṟumba Iḍaiyas*, *Kuṟumba Gollas*, occasionally also as *Kuṟi Kuṟumbas* and even as *Haṇḍe Kuṟumbas*. Others keep pigs, this do the widely-spread *Handi-Kuṟumbas*, who must not be confounded with the Haṇḍe Kuṟumbas; the *Pāl* or *Hāl Kuṟumbas* sell milk; the *Kambali Kuṟumbas* weave and sell woollen blankets, which they themselves wear in a peculiar fashion; and the *Cuṇṇāmbu Kuṟumbas* prepare and sell lime. The *Kuṟumba Vēḍas* or hunting Kuṟumbas are well known in the Tamil country,[110] while the *Āne Kuṟumbas* seem to have obtained their name from their cleverness in way-laying and hunting elephants. The *Kaḻḻa-Kuṟumbas* lived not so long ago an easy life as thieves and robbers. Most likely they formed part of the warrior class and took to marauding in times of peace for want of other occupation, and in order to support them-

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[109] See Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. I, pp. 180, 181: "The Ruddi are one of the tribes of *Sūdra* caste, which being much employed in agriculture are called *Wocuḷigaru* in the language of *Karnata*, and *Cunabi* in that of the Docany Mussulmans... They are divided into two sects by a difference of religion; one party worshipping *Vishnu*, and the other *Siva*; but this does not prevent intermarriages. Those who worship *Siva* are followers of a kind of *Jangamas*; but do not wear the *Linga*. The people with whom I conversed seemed to consider them as the same with the *Jangamas* of the *Pancham Banijigas*, but this caste informed me, that they were distinct, and that the Gurus of the *Ruddi* were the same with those of the *Curubaru*, whose chief resides at Cangundy in the Bara-mahal." Compare Mr. L. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. I, pp. 337, 338, 340, vol. III, pp. 208, 209, also the *Ethnological Compendium* of the Rev. G. Richter, p. 13, and pp. 236–240.

[110] See Mackenzie Collection, No. 11, C.M. 765, Sect., new copy, vol. III, p. 298, where the *Aṇḍa*, *Iḍaiya*, *Kambali*, *Cuṇṇāmbu* and *Vēda-Kuṟumbas* are mentioned, and also No. 14, C.M. 768, Section VII.

selves. The circumstances, however, are now changed, and the Kaḻḻas in Pudukōṭa are no longer the dread of their neighbours.

Among the Kuṟumbas of the *Maṇḍayam Tālūk* are found the following nine divisions: the *Pāl*, *Haṇḍe*, *Muḻḻu*, *Kambaḻi*, *Sāda*, *Javāḍu*, *Sōmavāra*, *Bestvāra* and *Ádityavāra Kuṟumbas*. These last three designations appear like nick-names, for they are peculiarly enough names of days of the week.

Besides these there are mentioned the *Kuṟumbas*, whose name Buchanan connects with *koḻḻi*, fire, but whom others call *Kāli-Kuṟubas* or *Kalle-Kuṟubas* after the Goddess Kālī. The *Nelli Kuṟumbas* (?); the *Asil Kuṟumbas* (? from *asal*, pure); the *Kōti Kuṟumbas* (? perhaps from *kōti*, monkey); the *Sāmanta Kuṟumbas* (? connected with the Sanskrit word *sāmanta* in the meaning of chief); the *Mūrhiṇḍina Kuṟumbas* (? of three groups), whose name reminds one of the *Mund-padi* and *Yelpadi* sections of the Beṭṭa Kuṟumbas in Kurg, who belong to three or to seven hamlets, according to Rev. G. Richter's *Compendium*, p. 13. It is very doubtful whether the *Pania Kuṟumbas*, who inhabit the Nīlagiri mountains and whom Rev. F. Metz counts among the Kuṟumbas, should be regarded as Kuṟumbas. The other Kuṟumbas do not treat them at all like relations; nor do they, and this is a point of importance, inspire the other native tribes with that superstitious fear, which renders the *Muḻḻu* and *Nāyaka Kuṟumbas* so terrible. They also do not resemble the other Kuṟumbas in their outward appearance. Their abject state of servitude (hence their name *pania*, from *pani*, work) would not absolutely militate against their being Kuṟumbas, though these people have generally contrived to maintain a certain amount of freedom, for the Curumbalun or Catalun of the Kuṟumbaṟanāḍu in Malabar were, according to Dr. Buchanan's description, held in slavery.[111]

The Kuṟumbas are said to belong to the *Havyaka* Gōtra,

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[111] See note 105 on pp. 201, 202.

and to the *Rēṇuka* or *Rēvaṇa* Sūtra. According to legendary report the Kuṟumbas form the offspring of the family of *Unne*, this being a tadbhavam of *Ūrṇā*, sheep-wool. Their connection with the sheep is traced to a curse of the celestial buffoon *Bhṛṅgī*, who, being dissatisfied with the Pramathas, the attendants of Śiva, is said to have cursed and turned them into sheep; saying:

Pramathā Bhṛṅgiśāpēna kavayō'pyavayō'bhavan.

This curse was eventually removed by Rēṇukārādhya or Rēvaṇasiddha, an incarnation of a servant of Śiva, and the high-priest of the Liṅgayats.

Some of the Kuṟumba hill-tribes have been reduced by the hard life they lead to a dwarfish and monkey-like appearance, but that this exterior is to a great degree due to these unfavorable circumstances and that it improves under better conditions is exemplified by the following statement of Dr. Shortt: "Whilst the appearance of this tribe is so "uncouth and forbidding in their own forest glens, they are "open to wonderful improvement by regular work, exercise, "and food; of this ample evidence is to be seen at the Gov- "ernment Chinchona Plantations at Neddiwuttum, where a "gang of Kuṟumbas, comprising some twenty individuals, "are employed as laborers, receiving their wages in grain "for the most part. They appear to give satisfaction to their "employers, and in their general appearance they cannot "be recognized from other natives, except perhaps by that "peculiar physiognomy characteristic to the tribe and their "somewhat slight conformation and dwarfed stature. They "have not the pot-belly, do not gape, nor is the dribbling "saliva or blood-shot eyes, common to their brethren of the "jungles to be found among them." [112]

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[112] Read Dr. Shortt's *The Hill Ranges of Southern India*, Part I, pp. 52, 53. Compare also Mr. W. F. Sinclair's 'Remark' in the *Indian Antiquary* (1877), vol. VI, p. 230: "In the Kaladgî district the Shepherd caste are called Kurubhars.... What is the meaning and derivation of *Kurubhar*, and is it

On their religion, manners and customs.

According to the most trustworthy native authorities, the Kuṟumbas had originally no special god, nor idols, nor any peculiar religious belief of their own. This state of things was eventually changed with the rise of proselytizing religions, such as Buddhism, Jainism, and with the desire of the majority to conform to Hindu or Brahmanic customs.

Their earliest objects of religious worship, however, appear to have been rough rounded stones, which somehow inspired them with a belief as representing the great superhuman powers. The weird aspect of the imposing immovable stone-hills, which braved the strongest storms amidst torrents of rain and flashes of lightning impressed most probably these children of nature to such an extent, that mountains, rocks and even smaller pieces of stones appeared to them the most appropriate representation of the deity. It may be perhaps added, that such kind of material is most easily set up and does not require any art to adjust it. This stone-worship has survived among the Kuṟumbas to the present day. A stone to which worship is paid stands often in caves or in the middle of circles, likewise formed of stone, but it must not be regarded as a Liṅga. The stone circle with its centre-piece is known among natives as a *Kuṟumba Kōvil* or temple of the Kuṟumbas. This stone is in the Nīlagiri district remembered as the Hiriadēva or Great God. The Kuṟumbas of the Nīlagiris offer presents of plantains to the Pūjāri of the Malēśvara idol on a high cliff which overlooks the Bhavāni valley, while those of Malabar worship similarly their hill god Malayadēva.[113] Occasionally we meet with a stone-block under a tree, which is revered as Gurunātha.

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the same word as *Kurambâ*, the name of Nilgiri hill-tribe? The latter, I believe, is a race of dwarfs; the shepherds here are a fine breed of men; yet the difference can hardly be greater than that which exists among the Bhills."

[113] See pp. 201 n. 105, 205 n. 116, Breeks' *Tribes*, pp. 52 and 55, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. II, p. 155.

The meaning of the name of this village god has hitherto defied identification, but is, I believe, now pretty clear. I think that *Guru* stands for Kuṟu, the original form of Kuṟuva or Kuṟumba, and that Gurunātha in Telugu *Gurunāthuḍu* is in reality identical with the god of the Kuṟus or Kuṟumbas.

As the bulk of the Kuṟumbas are shepherds or *Kuṟi-kuṟumbas* and as their property is represented by the flocks of sheep they possess, their god is often called the Lord or King of the Sheep Hill or *Kuṟi-beṭṭa-rāya.* [114]

Like other nations the Kuṟumbas also have repeatedly changed their religion, and very many different beliefs are prevalent among them. At an early age a considerable fraction of the Kuṟumbas adopted the Jaina faith and became eventually bigoted adherents of this sect. It seems in fact that their fanatical efforts to spread and to ensure the general adoption of this religion have been among the chief causes of the collapse of their power in the central districts of the Madras Presidency, *i.e.*, in the country round Kāñcīpuram. The campaign of Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa was specially undertaken to crush the threatening supremacy of Jainism, and the religious element played in it as important a part as the political.[115] The ascendancy of Śaivism was the most important result of the war, but Jainism is by no means extinct among the Kuṟumbas. The Liṅgayats claim also a considerable number of adherents, and *Rēṇukārādhya or Rēvaṇa Siddhēśvara* is their high priest in certain parts of Mysore.[116] Rēṇukārādhya is said to have chosen in Śriśaila the Kuṟumba leader *Padmarasa* (from *Padma* and *Arasu*,

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[114] About *Gurunātha* see p. 176, and consult pp. 201 n. 105, 201 n. 106, and 205 n. 107, where the Rev. F. Metz's *Kuribattaraya*, Mr. Breeks' *Kuribattrāya*, and Dr. F. Buchanan's "temple of *Bira* which is situated on *Curi-betta*, or the Sheep Hill" are mentioned.

[115] See a petition of the Jains of Kumbakōṇam, Cittūr, Vṛddhācalam and other places who complained about their losing their temples through Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa and Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa.

[116] Rēvaṇasiddha or Rēṇukārādhya is said to have resided on the Kailāsa mountain.

king) or Padmaṇṇa as his disciple and alienated him from Jainism. Śiva is revered under various forms, most frequently as Bhairava, but also as Vīrabhadra, and the temple of the god '*Bīra* on *Curibetta*' is most probably his shrine.[117] *Eḻuruppa* I take to be *Iruḻappan*, the god of darkness; *Barama Deva* is perhaps Brahma if not Paramêśvara;[118] Durgawa, *Yacani* (*Yakṣaṇī* or more correctly Yakṣiṇī), *Mayava* (Māyavā) and *Musni* (?) are mentioned as the deities revered by the Kuṟumbas; and Durgā, Māyavā and Musni are worshipped as the wives of Śiva. In Kurg the monster *Kuttadamma* or *Karinkāli* (black Kālī) is revered by the Kuṟumbas.[119]

It seems that *Śakti*, as well as *Bhūta* or demon-worship exists in some Kuṟumba communities, though the authorities do not agree with respect to the Bhūtacult.[120]

Rāma is not adored by the Kuṟumbas, and *Dharmarāja*, the favorite deity of the Paḻḻis and other Dravidian races, shares the same fate, which fact must be regarded as very significant.[121]

The Mackenzie Collection contains an interesting description of the manner in which *Vīrabhadra* is worshipped by the Iḍaiya Kuṟumbas who belong to the Yādava race.[122] Vīrabhadra is generally regarded as an Avatāra of Śiva, who, according to the Viṣṇupurāṇa, proceeded from the mouth of Śiva to spoil the sacrifice of Dakṣa, and who is described as "a divine being with a thousand heads, a thousand eyes,

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[117] See p. 201 n. 105, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. I, pp. 275, 312, 389; vol. II, pp. 435, 436.

[118] See pp. 200, 201 n. 105, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. I, p. 381; vol. II, p. 436.

[119] See pp. 201 n. 105, 206 n. 108, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. II, p. 436, and Rev. G. Richter's *Ethnographical Compendium*, p. 13.

[120] See pp. 201 n. 105, 206 n. 105, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. I, p. 271; vol. II, p. 381, and Rev. G. Richter's *Ethnogr. Compend.*, p. 13.

[121] See p. 198 n. 105, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. I, p. 276.

[122] See Mackenzie Collection, No. 9, C.M. 763, XII, in the new copy, vol. IV, pp. 76, ff., and Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. III, pp. 368, 369.

a thousand feet; wielding a thousand clubs, a thousand shafts, holding the shell, the discus, the mace, and bearing a blazing bow and battle-axe."[123] It is now, I believe, impossible to decide whether the Vīrabhadra of the Kuṟumbas represents a national, or is a Hindu divinity. According to our MS. the Kuṟumbas have no national worship, but revere only one deity whom they call *Vīra*, *Vīralu*, or *Vīrabhadra*. His feast is celebrated once a year, on new moon day of the Tamil month *Tai*, or about January. The idol is kept shut up in a box in a special room during the whole remaining time of the year. On the anniversary of the festival the box is reverently opened and the idol, which is made of brass, is taken out of it. The image is about a span long, and is placed in an upright position on a cloth spread over the floor, after it has been thoroughly cleaned with tamarind juice and well washed. The figure of the idol is then dressed in clothes, and flowers are placed on its head. Incense is burnt in front of it. Some raw rice is then cooked with milk and water in a new earthen pot, and presented to the idol on a plantain leaf. Plantains, betel-leaf and nuts, are besides offered, and cocoanuts are broken in its honor. After the ceremony is over, the idol is carried back to its usual place, and the people sit down to their meals. The feast lasts three consecutive days, but eight days before its commencement the worshippers take an oil bath, abstain from all sensual enjoyments, prepare their food in clean unprofaned vessels, do not eat flesh but bathe daily. He who has observed all the prescriptions most conscientiously, is placed in front of the idol, and the cocoanuts are broken on his head. The man who breaks the cocoanut, keeps it. If the man's head begins to bleed by the breaking of the cocoanuts, he is suspected of having committed some offence, and thus to have incurred pollution. He must bathe again, and the trial with the cocoanuts is repeated a second time. If his head

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[123] See H. H. Wilson's *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, vol. I, pp. 128–132.

should begin to bleed again, he is finally rejected as impure. Whoever passes the test, becomes the *Pūjāri* for the time being. After this ceremony the Kuṟumbas dance together, beat drums and blow trumpets.

At the great festivals in Pudukōṭa the Kuṟumbas perform a similar ceremony in the presence of the Mahārāja, when the image of *Vīralakṣmī* is carried in procession and worshipped.

Some Kuṟumbas believe in a life after death, while others deny a future existence. They differ also in their way of disposing of their dead; some burn, others bury the corpses. The good, according to some, become after their death, benevolent spirits, while the bad assume the shape of evil spirits; and those who die unmarried become Vīrikas. But it seems that even the spirits of the good require some stimulant to keep them quiet, and unless they are appeased by liquor, in their anger they inflict various diseases. Some burn the good but bury the bad, as the spirits of the latter thus confined in the ground cannot escape and make mischief.[124]

The Kuṟumbas have the peculiar habit, already noticed when speaking of the Kaurs,[125] of shaving their heads entirely when they have to attend a funeral of any of their community. This custom of the Kuṟumbas was once the cause of a great calamity.[126] The Kuṟumbas had made themselves extremely unpopular by their intolerance. During the reign of the Rājas of Vijayanagara the Kuṟumba Iḍaiyas were powerful in several other places, especially in Nerumpūr, Śālapākkam and other similar strongholds. The Kuṟumbas, either actuated by religious zeal or wishing to annoy their dependents, tried

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[124] See pp. 198 n. 105, 199 n. 105, 201 n. 105, 202 n. 105, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. I, pp. 275, 380, 381; vol. II, pp. 155.

[125] See p. 186.

[126] See Mackenzie Collection, No. II; C.M. 765, VII; compare Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue*, vol. III, pp. 399-400.

to force the Muḍalis and Veḷḷāḷas to pay homage to them by bowing their heads respectfully to them. But these two classes refusing to do it, the Kuṟumbas in revenge ill-treated and oppressed them in all sorts of ways. They constructed for this purpose very low entrances at the various places where the Muḍalis and Veḷḷāḷas had to pass through gates, and they thought that they would thus compel these men to lower their heads when going through these entrances, and extract from them in this manner a certain amount of involuntary homage. But the Muḍalis and Veḷḷāḷas of *Nerumpūr* were quite equal to the occasion, and instead of bowing their heads, they scrambled through with their legs foremost, so that they added injury to insult; and the Kuṟumbas became only more exacting. At last the Veḷḷāḷas could stand this treatment no longer and determined to get rid of their oppressors. For this purpose they had recourse to a leading barber, whom they induced by liberal promises of gifts of land to devise a scheme to help them, and this man persuaded his fellow-barbers to kill the Kuṟumbas when an opportunity occurred. He founded his plot on the above-mentioned custom, according to which all the Kuṟumbas who attend a funeral shave their heads. About this time a prominent personage among the Kuṟumbas died, and the Muḍalis and Veḷḷāḷas availed themselves of this opportunity to instruct the head barbér to issue orders to his caste-people to kill the Kuṟumbas while they were being shaved. As the shaving was performed pretty simultaneously, each barber cut the throat of his Kuṟumba customer, and all the Kuṟumbas of Nerumpūr were thus massacred. As soon as the tidings of the murder of their husbands reached the Kuṟumba women, they determined not to survive them, and burnt themselves with the corpses of their consorts. The dying widows uttered the curse that Nerumpūr should never again produce enough grain to buy salt, even if three crops of grain were reaped every year. The fortification and irrigation works of the Kuṟumbas have fallen into ruins since then, and only the

earth-mounds and old brick wells near Sadras betray the existence of an ancient town.

Their marriage customs differ also considerably. Originally they did not perform any ceremonies at their marriages, but later on, the majority adopted Jaina or Hindu rites. A manuscript in the Mackenzie Collection contains the following description which, however, resembles the common Hindu marriage customs.[127] The bride and the bridegroom are anointed with oil, and dress themselves after their bath in new clothes. The bride sits in the pandal on the left and the bridegroom on the right. Both are adorned with flowers and have golden tinsel (*bhāsikam*) on their foreheads. A shoot of the *Pippal* or Holy Figtree (*Aracu*, அரசு) is fixed between the two inner posts of the pandal, in which the ceremonies are performed and the people walk round those posts. The marriage is attended by the headman and all relatives. The former when approaching the betrothed couple breaks a cocoanut, and places the Tāli which is fastened to a golden string, in the upper cup. This is handed round to ten or more relatives, who shout *maṅgali, maṅgali.* Eventually the bridegroom, who receives the Tāli, at last fastens it round the neck of the bride, uttering the name of *Gōvinda.* The nearest relatives now with crossed hands pour saffron-colored raw rice on the heads of the young pair: this ceremony is called Cēṣai (சேஷை), in Telugu Sēsa (శేస).[128] After this the couple prostrate themselves at the feet of their elders and sit down in their midst. Betel leaves and nuts are then handed round, and the eating and drinking commences. After the distribution of garlands, the *Kaṅkaṇa* is tied on the right wrists of the happy pair. The Cēṣai ceremony is repeated during the two following days, while the bride and bridegroom occupy their former seats; after that the guests are liberally entertained. On the fourth and fifth days pepperwater (miḻakutaṇṇi) and rice are served out. On the latter day the bride

[127] See Mackenzie Collection, new copy, vol. IV, p. 78.

[128] From the Sanskrit *Śīrṣa*, head.

is taken to her mother's house, where cakes are distributed and a sumptuous meal is provided for all relatives and friends. Two men are then despatched from the house of the bridegroom to that of the bride, where they are welcomed as the escort of the young pair to the bridegroom's house, and receive on starting with them a bundle containing eleven rice-cakes and a lot of jaggery.

Many peculiar customs prevail among the Kuṟumba women, some of which they share with other castes. They generally take assafœtida after childbirth and bathe on the fifth day.[129] Adultery is generally leniently punished and condoned with a fine. This is as a rule spent on an entertainment, after which the woman is readmitted into society.

The Tāli is not removed from the neck of a widow, unless she desires to remarry. In this case the marriage-tie is returned to the family of her former husband, and she wears that given by her new husband. A widow may remarry as often as she likes.

On our historical knowledge about the Kuṟumbas.

We are very insufficiently informed about the early history of the Kuṟumbas. Before they settled down to anything like domestic life, they roamed as *Vēḍas* in the virgin forests hunting the deer for its flesh and the wild animals for their own safety. In some places the traces of an ancient Kuṟumba occupation are not yet effaced. The Rev. F. Metz writes respecting their settlement on the Nīlagiri mountains as follows: " There are strong grounds for supposing that " the Kuṟumbas once occupied and cultivated the plateau of " the hills, and were driven thence by the Todas into the " unhealthy localities which they now inhabit, on the pretext " of their being a race of sorcerers whose presence was a bane " to the happiness of the other hill-tribes. Several spots near

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[129] See Mackenzie Manuscripts, No. 14, C.M. 758. The Tamil for assafœtida is பெருங்காயம் *Peruṅkāyam.*

"the Badaga villages bear the name of 'Motta' to this day, "and traces of houses are still visible; and in one place a "stone enclosure for buffaloes is to be seen, which, as I gather "from an old piece of Badaga poetry formerly belonged to a "rich Kurumba, who was murdered by the Todas, at the insti- "gation of the Badagas . . . The Todas and Badagas say "that the Kurumbas are the enemies of their peace, and that "they cannot live without killing them. Some years ago "I discovered the site of a former Kurumba town, of the "existence of which I was well aware, but which I had never "been able to trace out. It is in the heart of a dense forest, "totally unfrequented by the natives and probably never "penetrated by any European."[130]

The Mackenzie Collection contains about the Kuṟumbas of the Tamil districts some interesting information. From one manuscript (No. 14 C.M., 768) I extract the following account:

"The country of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam was after the deluge totally covered with forest and was infested with wild beasts. A people of wild hunters, known as *Vēḍas*, roamed about in the woods. They lived in huts which they had erected after clearing the country. Their place of settlement is still called *Vēḍar Pāḻayam*. No kings ruled over them, and they did just what they pleased. Besides their huts, they had no places in which they could protect themselves. They were guided neither by social nor religious rules, nor had they any books. In fact they were merely a lot of naked savages, who did not observe any ceremonies even at their marriages. They killed the wild beasts of the forests and lived on their flesh.

"The Kuṟumbas of the Karṇāṭa country had meanwhile risen to prominence, and, after their numbers had increased, began to tyrannize over the other inhabitants. The Kuṟumbas had very barbarous and cruel habits, and deserved to be

[130] See Rev. F. Metz' *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, pp. 122, 123.

called Kuṟumbas. (This is an allusion to the meaning of குறும்பு, *Kuṟumpu*, or குறும்புத்தனம், *Kuṟumputtanam*, savageness, stubbornness, insolence, wickedness. It is, however, derived from the national name of the Kuṟumbas, and not *vice versâ*.) In course of time they extended their dominion to the very border of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, and a few Kuṟumbas settled in Śālapākkam near Uttaramallūr, where their descendants are still known as Kuṟumbas. Before they had any king, they roved about unrestrained like wild hunters in the forests, till, when dissensions and quarrels had arisen among them, *Kamaṇḍa Prabhu* restored peace and quiet. He convinced them that it would be to their advantage to elect a king and they followed his advice. As he was a wise and popular man, he himself was chosen king, and henceforward he was known as *Kamaṇḍa Kuṟumba Prabhu,* the ruler of the Drāviḍa country and Rāja of Pulal. The kingdom was called *Kuṟumbabhūmi,* the land of the Kuṟumbas, and this name was entered in all the official documents. He built a fort at the town of Pulal, its walls were constructed of bell-metal, and its strength and grandeur defied description. His rule extended over a vast territory, and as several of his subjects betrayed occasionally an inclination to rebel against him, he subdivided his realm into 24 districts, in each of which he erected a stronghold and appointed a governor. The fort of Pulal was his own capital. The following are the names of some of these fortified places: Pulalkōṭṭai, Āmūrkōṭṭai, Kaḷattūrkōṭṭai, Puliyūrkōṭṭai, Cempūrkōṭṭai, Ūṟṟukāṭṭukōṭṭai, Veṇkunakōṭṭai, Īkkāṭṭukōṭṭai and Paṭuvūrkōṭṭai.[131]

[131] The late F. W. Ellis gives in his classical article on the Mirāsi questions all the 24 names, besides the above named are further mentioned: Maṇavūrkōṭṭai, Ceṅkāṭṭukōṭṭai, Paiyūrkōṭṭai, Eyiṟkōṭṭai, Tāmaṟkōṭṭai, Palkunṟakōṭṭai, Iḻaṅkāṭṭukōṭṭai, Kāliyūrkōṭṭai, Ciṟukāraikōṭṭai, Kaṭikaikōṭṭai, Cantirikaikōṭṭai, Kunṟapattirakōṭṭai, Vēṅkaṭakōṭṭai and Vēḻūrkōṭṭai.—Mr. Ellis obtained the list from the Jñānaprakāśa Maṭam. Compare the *Papers on Mirāsi Right*, Madras, 1862, pp. 235–241.

See also Abbé Dubois' *Description of the People of India*, second edition, p. 342, and Mr. J. H. Nelson's *Manual of Madura*, Part II, pp. 64, 65.

"While Kamaṇḍa Prabhu ruled, the various tribes in the country submitted to his rule, and the people could quietly follow their various avocations. Some engaged in trade, others in husbandry, and so on, according to their special inclinations, though the majority devoted themselves to sheep-tending, woollen blanket-weaving and lime-selling. They even ventured at that time to engage in shipping trade, and some Ceṭṭi merchants from Kāvēripaṭṭaṇam settled in the Kuṟumba country. Stimulated by them the Kuṟumbas soon developed a taste and an aptitude for commerce, and in order to facilitate mercantile transactions, they built in course of time strongholds at Paṭṭipulam, Śālakuppam, Sālapākkam, Meyyūr, Kadalūr, Ālamparai, Marakkāṇam, &c. The Kuṟumbas and Ceṭṭis of Kāvēripaṭṭaṇam occupied these fortified ports, and as they were successful in their speculations, amassed great wealth and became influential.

"As already intimated the Kuṟumbas had no special religion of their own, and a Jaina priest who visited their country, was able to convert the greater portion of the people to Jainism. The Jaina basti which the king of Pul̠al erected in honour of that priest, remains up to this day a monument of this conversion. Besides this building, a few other bastis are still existing, though in a very dilapidated condition. Jaina sculptures are now occasionally found in the rice-fields; they are, however, either destroyed or reburied in the ground by Brahmans and other religious enemies of the Jains. Many Kuṟumbas resemble in their present manners and customs the Jains of former times, and they do so especially in their marriage ceremonies.

"While the Kuṟumbas ruled over the land, their more civilized neighbours often attacked them, but were generally defeated. The Cōl̠a and Pāṇḍya kings made thus repeated inroads into the Kuṟumba territory; but their attempts to subdue their fierce foes were in vain, as they did not mind to sacrifice their lives on the battle-field. Some of these royal aggressors were at times captured and chained in fetters to

the fort-gate of Pul̲al. These continual successes, however, turned the head of the Kuṟumbas and made them overbearing, so that they began to annoy and ill-treat those of their subjects who belonged to rival tribes, or had embraced other religious beliefs. They endeavoured in fact to force the Jain religion on all, and created great dissatisfaction by their religious intolerance. Yet no one rose who could oppose them effectually.

" At last *Ādoṇḍa Cōl̲a*, a brave, wise and popular prince, marched against the Kuṟumbas and invested their capital Pul̲al with a large army. He began this campaign as he could no longer endure the tyranny and mal-administration of the Kuṟumba king and resolved to defeat him at any risk, in order to alleviate the sufferings of the people. The Kuṟumba king on his side was not wanting in bravery, and went to face the enemy. Both sides fought valiantly, at last three-fourths of the army of Ādoṇḍa Cōl̲a were put to the sword, and unable to resist longer, he fled from the battle-field and took refuge with a few remaining followers in a place not far distant from the fort. This locality is still known as *Cōl̲anpēḍu*. He then made up his mind to retreat on the next morning to his country Tanjore. But at night Śiva appeared to him in a dream and said: "After ascending to-morrow morning your elephant, on your way to the battle, you will find that his legs are entangled in a jasmine-creeper (Mullai), and when you try to cut it away with your sword, blood will ooze out of it, and on closer examination you will discover there a Liṅga." Encouraged by his dream, he went to the battle-field, and, after ascending his elephant, saw that the legs of the animal were caught in a jasmine bush and that blood oozed out from the spot where he tried to cut it.[132] This sign confirmed his resolution to

[132] Compare *Toṇḍala śatakam*, p. 4, śl. 9: " When Toṇḍamān was driven from the battle-field, his elephant was prevented from moving by a jasmine-creeper. Afterwards he fought again and became victorious." A description of this fact is given in a work called *Tirumullaivāyalpatikam*.

attack his fierce enemies, and he secured a complete victory over them. Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa captured the Kuṛumba king and put him to death. Puḻal, the chief town and fort of the Kuṛumbas, was taken, and its brass doors were placed in the inner portion (garbhagṛha) of the temple of Tanjore. A pillar made of Arka (*Calatropis gigantea*) wood that had been removed from the Tanjore temple, was placed in the interior of a temple and erected at the spot where the Śivaliṅga had been found. This temple was called *Tiru-mullai-vāśal*, after the jasmine-creeper which had covered the legs of the elephant. The part of the Liṅga where the sword of Ādoṇḍa had touched it looked like a wound, and is therefore covered with camphor to conceal the sore.

"The remaining twenty-three forts were then taken, and their governors with their retinues were also killed. Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa appointed Veḻḻāḷa chiefs instead of the Kuṛumbas. As he observed that the country was very thinly populated, he invited Veḻḻāḷas from different districts and induced them to settle in the newly-acquired territory, by granting them freehold land and conferring on them other favours. The Veḻḻāḷas who accepted the offer were the Tuluva, Cōḻiya and Koṇḍaikaṭṭi Veḻḻāḷas. The first two were called after the district they came from, the *Tuluva Veḻḻāḷas* emigrated from the Tuluva-Nāḍu in Kanara and the *Cōḻiya Veḻḻāḷas* from the Cōḻanāḍu. The *Koṇḍaikaṭṭi Veḻḻāḷas* were so called, from binding their hair in a tuft on the top of their head instead of leaving a small lock (Kuḍumi). With these Veḻḻāḷas together came the *Kaṇakka-Piḻḻaikaḷ* or accountants.

"Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa ruled the land with justice and in peace, and was henceforth known as Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa Cakravarti or as Toṇḍamān Cakravarti. The country which had hitherto been called Kuṛumbabhūmi was now named Toṇḍamaṇḍalam."

In order to ascertain what was left of Puḻal, I lately visited the place and its neighbourhood. It lies about 8 miles north-west of Madras, to the east of the big lake, known as

the Red-Hills Tank. The place where the old fort of Pul̲al stood is still remembered and pointed out by the people. However, the outlines of the outer and inner mud walls are now only visible, within the latter is a tank. These walls must have encircled once a fort of considerable extent, of which nothing however remains. Hyder Ali on his march to Madras encamped here. Pul̲al is also called *Vāṇa Pul̲al*, and near it is situated a small hamlet *Mādhavaram*.

About a mile to the north-east lies the present village Pul̲al, in which I found three temples. A small Jaina basti dedicated to *Ādtīrthaṅkara*, though in a decayed condition, is still used for worship, and has the reputation of being old. The Vaiṣṇava temple of *Karimāṇikyaperumāl* does not appear to be ancient, while the erection of the Śiva temple is ascribed to Ādoṇḍa Cōl̲a. It is dedicated to *Trimūlanātha*, but as a famous sannyāsi Sundaramūrtisvāmi worshipped there, it is known as the shrine of *Sundarēśvara*. It is evidently pretty old, and, though partly repaired some years ago, is in a dilapidated state. It has the appearance of a Cōl̲a temple, and is covered with inscriptions, those seen on the outside being in a bad condition. The temple possesses no Sthalapurāṇa, nor any copper Śāsanams. The name of the goddess is *Svarṇāmbikā*.

On the other side of the lake, about six miles towards south-west, lies the hamlet *Tirumullaivāśal* or *Tirumullaivāyal*, which is named after the adventure which befell the prince Ādoṇḍa in his combat against the Kuṟumbas. A temple is erected near the spot where the Liṅga was wounded by the sword of the Cōl̲a prince and dedicated to Śiva as *Mācillāmaṇi*, which is a Tamil translation of the Sanskrit *Nirmalamaṇi*, meaning 'spotless jewel.' On one of the stone columns of the maṇṭapam in front of the Gōpuram is carved the figure of Ādoṇḍa sitting on an elephant in the act of cutting with his sword the jasmine-creeper from the leg of the elephant. The similarity in the sound of *mullai*, jasmine, and *mala*, stain, raises a suspicion against the

genuineness of this legend. The temple is in good preservation. Two so-called Arka-pillars (not one as the manuscript just quoted states) are covered with a beam, and form with the two side walls the support of the Ardhamaṇṭapam, which communicates on the western side by a door in the common wall with the Garbhagṛha behind. Between, but behind the two Arka-pillars, is situated in the Garbhagṛha the holy Liṅga, which on account of its wound is covered with sandal-wood-powder and other cooling ingredients. The local legend contends that Ādoṇḍa brought the two brownish-looking Arka-pillars, together with a bell, and a bronze door from the fort of Pul̲al. This gateway, however, has since disappeared. Cōl̲anpēḍu lies close to Tirumullaivāśal.

In order to assist Ādoṇḍa in his fight against the Kuṟumbas, Śiva sent his attendant *Nandi*, and in confirmation of this fact the Nandi at Tirumullaivāśal faces the east, instead of being turned towards the idol, *i.e.*, towards the west. The consort of *Mācillāmaṇi* is called *Koḍi iḍai Nāyaki.* The temple has a Sthalapurāṇa, its first part, which was only lent to me, does not contain any allusion to Ādoṇḍa. I have been told that there are no Tāmra Sāśanams to throw light on the erection of the temple. Not far from this temple towards the south stands an enormous image, constructed of brick and mortar representing Mannarsvāmi, accompanied by the seven Sages.

A young Brahman D. Rāghavayya accompanied me and obtained some valuable information as I was not permitted to enter the temple, and I do not know whether it contains any important inscriptions. It may be well worth while to examine carefully the temples at Pul̲al and Tirumullaivāśal in order to ascertain whether they possess any account about Ādoṇḍa Cakravarti, though I have been told that there is none. The battle between the Cōl̲as and the Kuṟumbas was fought somewhere between those two places.

The origin of the word Toṇḍamaṇḍalam is doubtful, and different explanations are given of it. The most widely-

spread legend connects the name with the prince Âdoṇḍa Cōḻa. As the destruction of the Kuṟumbas is attributed to this popular hero, an account of his origin will not be out of place here. The following story is found in several MSS. of the Mackenzie Collection: [133]

"In Cōḻamaṇḍalam ruled 44 descendants of the ancient Cōḻa Rājas. The last was Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa, who had by his queen two children, a daughter and a son. Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa killed the son of the poet Kamban, and Kamban killed in revenge the son of the king. At the royal entertainments of the court there was dancing for some time a beautiful girl *Nākināgaratna* with whom the king fell in love. But as Kulōttuṅga felt that he would lose the esteem of the people if he allowed his passion to transgress public decency, he kept his affection a great secret and used a servant girl *Umāpati* to arrange meetings between Nākināgaratna and himself. In course of time a boy was born, whom Umāpati dressed in a silk gown and put in a golden basket with Âdoṇḍa flowers round him. She then placed the basket on the bank of the Kāvēri, near the spot where the king generally bathed. All this was done by the order of the king. When the king came afterwards with his Brahmans and courtiers to the river they heard a child cry, and, on approaching nearer, they saw it and said to the king: 'O king, as you forgave Kamban who killed your son, God presents to you this wonderful child on the bank of the Kāvēri. The child resembles you, and is worthy to become the ruler of the

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[133] In the *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam Cōḻamaṇḍalum-Paṇṭiyamaṇṭalam*, old No. 241, C.M. 66. This work is said to have been compiled by *Vēdanāyakan*, a Christian poet of Tanjore. See Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. III, pp. 41, 42. This work is copied in No. 7, C.M., 761, Section III (Taylor, vol. III, p. 370). A somewhat similar account is contained in No. 14, C.M. 768, Section II; in the new copy in the vol. II, pp. 65-67, and in Taylor, vol. III, pp. 426, 427; and also in No. 15, C.M. 769, I., new copy, vol. I, p. 125.

I need not specially point out the inaccuracies contained in this report, for they are too evident, as, *e.g.*, the foundation of Kāñci by Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa.

country. As he is adorned with Ādoṇḍa flowers, we take this as a lucky omen and call him 'Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa.'' Circumstances favouring so far the designs of the king, he gave the child to his wife with the words: 'God has presented this child to you near the Kāvēri.' The queen accepted it and brought it up with much affection. The truth about the birth of the child was not only known to the king and the dancing girl, but also to some extent to his chief minister. Meanwhile the child grew up, and displayed much cleverness, knowledge and courage. When the king consulted his minister about the marriage and succession of his son, the minister pretended to agree with the plans of the king, but communicated secretly to the relatives of the king the circumstances accompanying the birth of Ādoṇḍa and the intentions of the king concerning the future of his son. The consequence was that the royal princes refused to marry one of their daughters to a bastard, and to allow his succession to the throne as it would throw dishonor on them. The minister communicated to Kulōttuṅga the unfavourable disposition of the princes. The king, however, did not give up his plans, but pondered how he might execute them in spite of their objections. At last he fixed on Toṇḍamaṇḍalam as a suitable province to give to Ādoṇḍa, though it was still a wilderness. He explored it, cleared the forest, laid the foundation of the capital Kāñci, erected there a temple and dug a channel for the river Pālār. As Kulōttuṅga observed how thinly the land was inhabited, he despatched his minister with money to other countries to induce people to immigrate into the newly-acquired district. The minister accordingly returned with many boys and girls of various castes, and the king ordered them to be married. This done he placed Ādoṇḍa on the throne at Kāñci. Kulōttuṅga then asked the minister to propose a suitable name for the country. In spite of the high position which Ādoṇḍa had meanwhile secured, the minister still despised him on

account of his illegitimate birth. He suggested therefore that the new territory should be called Toṇḍamaṇḍalam (the district of slaves) and the king without any suspicion named it so.[134] Since that time this country has been called Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, and Toṇḍamaṇḍalam was thus founded by Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa. The name of Kuṟumbabhūmi was then changed into Toṇḍamaṇḍalam and Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa was installed as Toṇḍamaṇḍala Cakravarti.[135]

"The legitimate daughter of Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa had married Varaguṇapāṇḍya,[136] the only son of Bālacandrapāṇḍya. After Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa's death, which took place in the 69th year of his life, Varaguṇapāṇḍya took Cōḻamaṇḍalam and Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, which had belonged to his father-in-law. Afterwards *Ubhayakulakiḻipāṇḍya*, the son of Varaguṇapāṇḍya and of the daughter of Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa, ascended the throne of Cōḻamaṇḍalam, and his descendants reigned over it for three centuries.

"The progeny of Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa submitted to their fate and received some land for their maintenance.

"Mīnakētanapāṇḍya was the last and eleventh descendant of Ubhayakulakiḻipāṇḍya. So long as these kings ruled, no enemies were feared. These kings ruled for 2707 years."

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[134] MS. No. 14, C.M. 768, Section II, here inserts a short account of the war of Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa with the Kuṟumbas, his first defeat and final victory. This MS. also calls always Toṇḍamaṇḍalam *Toṇḍarmaṇḍalam*.

[135] This last remark as well as the other about the Kuṟumbas is only found in No. 14, C.M. 768, Section II, which ends with this passage.

[136] Compare the Appendix by Rev. T. Foulkes to *A Manual of the Salem District*, vol. II, pp. 370, (sl. 18), 373, (sl. 18), 378, 379.

The father of Varaguṇa is generally given as Sundarēśvarapadaśēkhara and his son as Rāja Rāja, though the chronicles differ in their chronology; see H. H. Wilson's List of the Pandyan kings in his Historical Sketch in the *Madras Journal*, vol. VI, (1837), pp. 211, 213; Rev. W. Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, vol. I, pp. 85-90. About Kamban's life refer to F. W. Ellis' replies to Mirāsi questions in *Papers on Mirāsi Right*, p. 292, where S.S. 808 (A.D. 886) is given as the date of his presenting the Tamil translation of the Rāmāyaṇa to his patron Rājēndra Cōḻa. Others prefer S.S. 807, A.D. 885.

The *Tiruvēṟkāṭṭu Purāṇa* says about the origin of the term Toṇḍamaṇḍalam: "The country was called *Daṇḍakanāḍu* as it was ruled by Daṇḍaka. Then it was named *Tuṇḍīra-nāḍu* in consequence of the reign of Tuṇḍīra. Afterwards it was called Toṇḍanāḍu, as Toṇḍamān, a descendant of the solar race who wore a garland of Ādoṇḍa flowers, governed the kingdom."[137]

The late Mr. F. W. Ellis quotes a stanza from the *Tirukka-ḻukkuṉṟa-Purāṇa* in which a similar statement is made, the difference between the two Purāṇas being, that the latter mentions Toṇḍıra as the founder of Toṇḍīranāḍu before Daṇḍaka, the assumed establisher of Daṇḍakanāḍu.[138]

The boundaries of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam are said to be the two Peṇṇai or Pinākinī rivers in the north and south, and the sea and the Western Ghāts up to Tirupati on the east and west. Some parts of the Western Ghāts also belonged to it. Mr. Ellis gives the memorial verses concerning the frontiers of this district. The Southern Peṇṇai flows into the sea near Gūḍalūr (Cuddalore), while the northern passes through the district of Nellūr close to Kālahasti, both streams rising near the Nandidrug in Mysore.[139]

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[137] See the following stanza from the *Tiruvēṟkāṭṭu Purāṇam*:—

திருவேற்காட்டுப் புராணம்.

தண்டகனாண்டு தண்டகநாடாய்த் தாவறுதுண்டீரனாண்டு
வண்டலர்சோலைத் துண்டீரநாடாய் மலிபுகழிரவிதன்குலத்தா
தொண்டநன்மாலைத் தொண்டமானாண்டு தொண்டநாடாயது
தூய
வண்டார்வான்சுரபி சொரிந்தபால்பெருகியமர்ந்தவிப்பாலி நன்
னாடே.

[138] See *Papers on Mirāsi Right* (Madras, 1862), p. 234: "Toṇḍīren, the chief among the leaders of the demon bands of the three-eyed deity, having governed it, this country became Toṇḍīranāḍu; when it was defended by Daṇḍacavēnder, it became accordingly Daṇḍaca-nāḍu; and when Chōzher of the family of the sun, who was Toṇḍeimān adorned by garlands of flowers, extended his protection to it, it become Toṇḍei-nāḍu." Compare also the stanza in *Hastigiricampū* which begins with "*Tuṇḍīrākhyam maṇḍalam asti spṛhaṇīyam.*"

[139] See *Papers on Mirāsi Right*, pp. 229–247; on p. 246, Mr. Ellis remarks: "The whole superficies of Tonda-mandalam, as originally settled by the

According to the above-mentioned Tiruvēṟkāṭṭu Purāṇa this country is known also as *Pālināḍu*, because the Pālār river flows through it.

The original meaning of the term Toṇḍamaṇḍalam is variously explained. According to the first and most popular derivation it was so called after the illegitimate Cōḻa prince Ādoṇḍa, who had been exposed on the bank of the Kāvēri in a basket filled with Ādoṇḍa or Toṇḍa flowers, which in their turn supplied him with his name. A second interpretation asserts that the newly-acquired province was covered to such an extent with the *Doṇḍa* oil-creeper, that the country was called after it. The third etymology is founded on the meaning of *Toṇḍan*, a slave, a devotee. If so, it alludes either to the low birth of Ādoṇḍa, its illegitimate first ruler, or to the uncivilised and slavish condition of the inhabitants of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam. Another possibility arises by connecting *Tuṇḍīra*, the fabulous ancient king, with Toṇḍa.

The legendary story of the birth of the illegitimate Cōḻa prince Ādoṇḍa is very perplexing. All circumstances considered, even after his victory he could only have been a dependent Viceroy of the Cōḻa king. According to tradition, his offspring soon lost even this position; though some inscriptions appear to make him the ancestor of reigning princes. The defeat of the Kuṟumbas appears to be a historical fact, but is sometimes narrated without mentioning Ādoṇḍa.[140] As the latter is said to have introduced Veḷḷāḷas and Kaṇaka

people of Shōzha-mandalam, is measured by 18,302 square miles: of this extent the division of the country between the range of the Ghât mountains and the sea, lower Tondei, contains 14,028 square miles, and the division to the west of the Ghâts, upper Tondei, 4,274: the latter is colored yellow in the map."

Read also Mackenzie MS., No. 15, C.M. 769, Section I; in the new copy, vol. I, p. 125. This declares Kâlahâsti as the northern, the river Peṇṇai as the southern, the mountain Paśumalai as the western, and the sea as the eastern boundary.

[140] See p. 227.

Piḻḻaikaḷ into Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, these men could not be stigmatised as slaves or *toṇḍar*.

The oil-plant, *Capparis horrida*, which is the Tamil *Āḍoṇḍai* (commonly pronounced *Āḍaṇḍai*) or *Toṇḍai* creeper, is well known in Southern India and esteemed for its medicinal properties.[141] It is certainly peculiar that the same plant should have given its name to a Tanjorean prince and to a northern province which he is said to have governed and which was covered with it.

I rather feel inclined to prefer the legend which connects the name with the inhabitants of the country, who made on the more cultivated southerners the impression of a rude and uncouth set of people. The Kuṟumbas, however, must have already attained a considerable degree of civilisation, though they looked despicable in the eyes of their enemies. While *toṇḍan* denotes a slave, *toṇḍu* signifies feudal service. In Pālghāt the Iḻavas are to this day nicknamed *Kotti-toṇḍar*. I think it highly probable that the Kuṟumbabhūmi was reduced to a feudal state as Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, and that the Kuṟumbas were regarded as Toṇḍar. The minister of Kulōttuṅga wanted, as we have seen, to apply the name *Toṇḍan* to Āḍoṇḍa Cōḻa himself.[142]

The subject becomes even more complicated by the Sanskrit name of the district *Daṇḍakāraṇya*, or *Daṇḍakanāḍu* in Tamil. The southern legend ascribes to this country, as we

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[141] In Tamil ஆதொண்டை and தொண்டை; in Telugu *Ārudoṇḍa* ఆరుదొండ. The *Ā of Ādoṇḍa* seems to be therefore a contraction of *Āru* in *Ārudoṇḍa*. *Aredoṇḍa* ఆరెదొండ is called the Capparis zeylanica. *Doṇḍa* seems to apply to the fruit of the Bryonia or Bimba (C. P. Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, pp. 71, 451); in Kanarese *Toṇḍe* or *Toṇḍē-kāi* is the name of the Bryonia grandis. In Dr. J. Forbes Watson's Index to the *Native and Scientific Names of Indian and other Eastern Economic Plants and Products* the *Capparis horrida* is called Adonda, Arudonda in *Telugu;* Ardandu, Ardundu in *Hindustani and Dekkani;* Atanday, Atonday, Atunday in *Tamil. Ricinus communis* is called Aranda and Arundi in *Hindustani*; and *Bryonia grandis* Donda kāya in *Telugu*. *Tuṇḍikēri* is the Sanskrit name for the cotton plant, which grows in South India in great quantity.

[142] See p. 228.

have seen, three rulers Daṇḍaka, Tuṇḍira and Ādoṇḍa, who conferred in their turn their names on it. This tradition seems to rest on a very slight foundation. Not only do these rulers appear in a different sequence, at least so far as Daṇḍaka and Tuṇḍīra are concerned, but their names resemble one another to such an extent, that one cannot help suspecting their being in reality only variations of the same identical term.

Daṇḍa or *Daṇḍaka* was the son of the ancient king Īkṣvāku, and was cursed by Śukrācārya for carrying off his daughter *Abjā.* In consequence of this curse the pious hermits left the country, and it became an uninhabitable waste land. According to ancient accounts *Daṇḍakāraṇya*, the forest of Daṇḍa or Daṇḍaka, was situated between the Narmadā and Gōdāvarī rivers, but its limits were gradually widened, till it stretched all over Southern India. On the other hand the province, in whose centre lies the present City of Madras, was specially distinguished as Toṇḍamaṇḍalam. So far as I am informed nothing is known about a Dravidian king Daṇḍaka, and this present form of the name suggests a Sanskrit origin. I am, however, of opinion that *Daṇḍa*, *Tuṇḍa*, *Tuṇḍīra* are all variations of the same identical word, though it is difficult, if not impossible, to decide whether this term is of Sanskrit or Gauda-Dravidian source. It is not improbable that the king Daṇḍa and the demon *Tuṇḍa*—peculiarly enough *Toṇḍīra* is described as a leader of demon bands—are the representatives of an aboriginal population. The name of the Tuṇḍikēras behind the Vindhyan mountains bears some resemblance to *Toṇḍa.* After *Tuṇḍīra* Kāñcīpuram is occasionally called *Tuṇḍīrapuram*, a designation which would assign its foundation to a remote antiquity. *Toṇḍi* is also the name of a town, and *Toṇḍiarpet* is a suburb of Madras. It is now commonly called Taṇḍiyārpet தண்டியார்-பேட்டை, as Ādoṇḍai is in Tamil similarly pronounced Ādaṇḍai.[143]

[143] Compare the *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* von Otto *Böhtlingk and* Rudolph Roth, vol. III, pp. 494, 495 under दण्ड and दण्डक. H. H. Wilson's *Vishnu-*

The existence of the *Toṇḍa* or *Doṇḍa* plant may have led to the legend of the illegitimate prince Ādoṇḍa being placed in a basket filled with Ādoṇḍa creepers and named after them.

The name of the king Daṇḍa or Daṇḍaka may thus be of Gauda-Dravidian origin. So far as historical evidence goes, the term Daṇḍakāraṇya is prior to that of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, but both may have sprung from the same source. It is further possible that the Kuṟumbas were nicknamed *Toṇḍas.* Other difficulties arise from the circumstance that the Pallava kings exercised authority contemporaneously with the Kuṟumbas in the same country.

The title of the ruler of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam was Toṇḍamān, a designation which is still borne by the Rāja of Pudukōṭa in the Trichinopoly district, as chief of the Kaḻḻas. I regard these Kaḻḻas as the representatives of a portion of the martial caste of the Kuṟumbas.[144] When these had found their occupation as regular soldiers gone, they took to marauder-ing, and made themselves so obnoxious by their thefts and robberies, that the term Kaḻḻan, thief, was applied and stuck to them as a tribal appellation.[145] In some documents the Kaḻḻas are called Kuṟumbas, and one of the sub-divisions of the kindred Koṟamas is known as Kalla-Koṟamas.

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purāṇa, edited by Fitzedward Hall, vol. III, pp. 238, 239, 259, 260, and vol. IV, p. 59, about the Tuṇḍikēras.

144 The Rev. W. Taylor identifies also in the *Catalogue Raisonné,* vol. III, pp. 385 (the *Kallars* or *Curumbars*) and 399 (the *Kallars,* or thieves, another name for the *Curumbars* or *Vedars*), the Kaḻḻas with the Kuṟumbas. MS. No. I, C. M. 755, 3, of the Mackenzie MSS. identifies in fact the Kaḻḻas with the Kuṟumbas, for the Kaḻḻas of Kaḻḻakkēṭṭu who were defeated by the Pāḷegar. Śrīvallavarāmakuttāla Tēvar and Kṛṣṇarāyamarutappa Tēvar are called Kuṟumbas. The Kaḻḻas have also adopted the title *Tēvar* like the Maravas. Compare moreover Mr. J. H. Nelson's remarks on the Kaḻḻas in his *Manual of the Madura Country,* Part II, pp. 44–56.

145 In Tamil *kaḷ,* means theft, lying, and *kaḻḻan,* thief, robber; in Malayālam *kaḻḻam* denotes theft, untruth, and *kaḻḻan,* thief, liar; in Kanarese *kaḷa* is a villain, liar; and in Telugu *kalla,* means lie. The word *Kaḻḻan* occurs only in the Tamil language as a tribal designation, a fact which proves that the name Kaḻḻan is derived from the root *kaḷ,* and not *vice versâ* as Mr.

From reliable information I have gathered, the Kuṟumba origin of the Kaḻḻas appears very probable. The ancestors of the Kaḻḻas were according to tradition driven from their home in consequence of a famine and migrated from a place near Tripati in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam to the south. They eventually settled in the village *Ambil* on the bank of the Koleroon (in Tamil Koḻḻaḍam), opposite and not far distant from Tanjore, the river being between both places. The ruler of Tanjore enlisted them in his service as watch-men or Kāvaṟkār. Eventually, they left Ambilnāḍu, penetrated still further to the south and founded *Ambukōvil*, which they named after the home they had left not long before.[146] They settled in nine villages, and their descendants are called *Onbādukuppattār*, after *onbadu* nine and *kuppam* village. They are regarded as the nine representative clans of the Kaḻḻas. The reigning family of the Toṇḍamān belongs to them, and the *Onbadukuppattār* are as a sign of this connection invited to all the marriages, festivals and other solemnities which take place at Court. *Ambilnāḍu* formed originally one of the 12 independent small communities, known as *Tannaracu Nāḍu*, i.e., a district which has its own kings, forming thus a sort of confederation, like that which prevailed among the

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Nelson seems to intimate when he says in his *Manual* (II, p. 49) "that the word *Kallan* is common to the Kanarese, Telugu, Malayālam and Tamil tongues . . (and) that the Kallans were the last great aboriginal tribe of the south which successfully opposed the advancing tide of Hinduism."

[146] A great part of the information about the Kaḻḻas I obtained from the present Dewan Regent of Pudukōṭa, the Honorable A. Sēshiah Śastriyar, C.I.E.

See also Mr. Nelson's *Manual*, II, p. 44 : "According to Ward's Survey Account the Kallans belong to two main divisions, that of the *Kīl nādu* or eastern country, and that of the *Mēl nādu* or western country. The Kīl Nādu comprises the Nādus of Mēlūr, a village about sixteen miles east of Madura, Vollalūr and Sirungudi : and its inhabitants, whose agromen is usually Ambalakāran, are the descendants of a clan which immigrated into the country in the following circumstances. Some Kallans belonging to the Vella (Vala ?) Nādu near Kānchipuram (Conjeveram) came down south with a number of dogs on a grand hunting expedition, armed with their peculiar weapons, pikes, bludgeons and *Vallari Thadis* or bomerangs. Somehow in the neighbourhood of Mēlūr, whilst they were engaged in their sport, they

Kadambas. This *Nāḍu* was situated east of Trichinopoly, south of Tanjore and north of Ramnad, the residence of the Sētupati.[147] In course of time the Ambilnāḍu Kaḷḷas became through the favour of the Trichinopoly Naicks the heads of the twelve districts, under their chief the Toṇḍamān. One of these princes married a daughter of a Trichinopoly Naick, and her consort erected after her death the *Ammāl cattiram*, which lies between Trichinopoly and Pudukōṭa. In consequence and in honor of this connection the court language at Pudukōṭa is to this day Telugu, and Telugu is the first language in which the royal children are instructed. In the characters of this language the Rājas also write their signature. The Kaṭṭiyams or poems which celebrate the deeds and contain the pedigree of the Toṇḍamāns are sung in Telugu and by Telugu bards or *Bhaṭrājus*.

A singular observance which has survived to the present day seems to strengthen the evidence about the Kuṟumba descent of the Kaḷḷas. At every important feast, especially at the floating festival, which is celebrated by the Pudukōṭa Rājas the Kambali-Kuṟumbas of a neighbouring village, about 4 miles distant from Pudukōṭa, appear with their goddess *Vīralakṣmī*. They then perform before the Rāja a very old and peculiar dance, their heads being covered with long flowing plumes, and at the conclusion of the dance, a Kuṟumba sits down quietly with his arms round his knees, while another breaks on his head cocoanuts, the tom-toms meanwhile continuing to beat time to the dance. With this

observed a peacock showing fight to one of their dogs, and thinking from this circumstance that the country must be a fortunate country and one favorable to bodily strength and courage, they determined to settle in it."

In Dr. Winslow's *Tamil Dictionary*, p. 31, *Ambalakkāran* is explained as "a chief of the Kaller caste," or as *Kaḷḷajjātittalaiyan*.

The village of the Kaḷḷas above alluded to is *Ambalakkārappaṭṭi* and lies 5 miles distant from Mēlūr.

[147] The Tamil தன்னரசு, *Tannaracu*, originally meaning *self-government*, got eventually the sense of *republican*, *anarchic* and even *independent* rule. *Tannaracu Nāḍu* is therefore a district with a democratic or independent government.

ceremony the festival concludes. This respect paid to the Kuṟumba goddess seems to prove that she is also worshipped by the Kaḻḻas, who, though calling themselves Śaivites, are mostly still devil-worshippers.[148]

The ancient home of the Kaḻḻas being Toṇḍamaṇḍalam explains thus the name of their chief, so well known in the modern Indian history as the *Toṇḍamān;* and their Kuṟumba origin is likewise indicated by their using the *Nāḍu* and *Kottam* system as a division of their country; these two terms being peculiar to the Revenue Administration of the Kuṟumbas.[149]

From subsequent events it is however clear that the Kuṟumbas, though defeated and at times even reduced to insignificance, were not annihilated and that they eventually recovered to some extent their former influence. We know thus that the Kuṟumbas reasserted their supremacy in certain places, and made themselves feared again in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, and held Marutam Kōṭṭai in the times of Kṛṣṇarāja of Vijayanagara.[150]

Another branch of the Kuṟumbas is even said to have founded the kingdom of Vijayanagara, as its first dynasty is traced to Kuṟumba descent. Horace H. Wilson says that these princes were of a "*Kurma* or *Kuruba* family." This tradition tallies with the fact that both the first kings of Vijayanagara and the Kuṟumbas pretended to be Yādavas.[151]

Other Kuṟumbas invaded Southern India about two hundred years ago and founded the Marātha kingdom of Tanjore, an event which leads me to speak of the *Kurmis*, *Kumbis* or *Kunbis*.

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[148] The special deity of the modern Kaḻḻas is called *Aḻakar*, அழகர்; *aḻaku* signifies beauty. Compare about the cocoanuts, p. 214.

[149] See Mr. Ellis' *Report on the Mirāsi Rights*, pp. 228, 229.

[150] See Mackenzie Collection No. 14, C. M. 768, VIII.

[151] See p. 237. Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. III, p. 368, and H. H. Wilson's Introduction to the Mackenzie Collection, 1st ed., p. cxi, (2nd ed., p. 83): "One tradition ascribed the origin of *Vijayanagar* to *Madhava* leaving it to the *Kurma* or *Kuruba* family."

ON THE KURMIS, KUMBIS OR KUNBIS.

I have already intimated that a considerable portion of the agricultural population of Northern India is, as I believe, of Gaudian origin. When saying this, I had in view the widely-spread and well-known tribe of the Kurmis, Kumbis or Kunbis, who according to the last Census Report number 12,199,531 souls. The agricultural population forms in most countries the bulk of the nation, and, in an agricultural land like India this large number need not create any astonishment. The late Rev. Dr. John Wilson proposed to derive the word Kurmi (Kumbi or Kunbi) from the Sanskrit root *kṛṣ*, to plough, and to take *kurmi* for a modification of *kṛṣmi*, ploughman, a word which, however, so far as I know, does not exist in Sanskrit.[152]

I regard this etymology as wrong and prefer to explain the terms *Kurmi* and *Kumbi* as contractions of *Kurumi* and *Kurumbi;* in fact, as stated previously, we actually meet with the term *Kurma* for Kuruma.[153] The interchange between *r* and *ḍ* modifies *Kurumba* into Kuḍumba and most peculiarly a part of the agricultural population of Tanjore bears to this day the name *Kuḍumban* which is identical with *Kuḍumbi*, and from which the Marāthi *Kumbi* or *Kunbi* is derived. The expression *Kuḍumbi* is still occasionally used in this sense, as I have been informed on good authority, by some natives of Baroda and its neighbourhood ; and even in the Mysore territory the Maratha Kunbis are called, as I hear, at times Kuḍumbis. The existence of terms like

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[152] See the Rev. Dr. John Wilson's "Tribes and Languages of the Bombay Presidency" in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 222 : "The largest tribe of the Marāṭhā people is that of the *Kuṇbīs*, corresponding with the Gujarāti *Kulaṁbīs* or cultivators. The derivation of the name is as follows : *Krīshmi* (S.) a ploughman, *Kurmī* (Hindī), Kulambī (Gujarātī), and *Kunabī* or *Kunbī* (Marāthī). They are called 'Marāṭhās' by way of distinction. Some of their oldest and highest families (as that of Śivāji, the founder of the Marāṭhā Empire) hold themselves to be descended of *Kshatriyas* or *Rājpūts ;* and, though they eat with the cultivating Marāṭhās, they do not intermarry with them. All the *Marāṭhās*, however, are viewed by the Brāhmaṇs as Śūdras."

[153] See the text and n. 151 on p. 236

Kurumbi or Kuḍumbi accounts also for the Guzarāti *Kulambī*, though this expression is said to be only used in works published in the Educational series.

The term *Kuḍumbi*, however, is also mentioned in the Madras Census Report as current in Tanjore. It must not be mistaken for the Sanskrit *Kuṭumbī*, householder; nor must it be connected with the Tamil *kuḍumi*, a tuft of hair.

Kumbi was changed into *Kuṇbi*, and this again into Kuṇabi and Kuṇubi which forms are found in modern Marāthi. Should any derivative of Kurmi, Kumbi or Kunbi denote agriculture, it must have originated in the same manner from *Kumbi* as Veḻḻāṇmai has from Veḻḻāḷan.

The antiquated Indian caste system is so far right that it assigns the Kurmis, Kumbis or Kunbis to the Śūdra class, *i.e.*, to the non-Aryan population. In spite of contradictory evidence Colonel Dalton thinks: "it is probable that in the Kūrmis we have the descendants of some of the earliest of the Aryan colonists of Bengal."[154]

The Kurmis are on the whole a very respectable, industrious and well-to-do class, though not credited with much intellect. Like many other low-born people some Kurmis display a great anxiety to prove their noble extraction, and, in order to avoid any mistakes being made on this subject, Dr. Francis Buchanan expressly asserts that they are in reality Śūdras, though some claim to be Kṣatriyas. The Kurmis of Berar eat meat, drink spirits and allow widows to remarry. In the Bombay Presidency the Kurmis are subdivided into two classes, the *Agris* and *Marāthas*, and the latter are in their turn again known as Pure Marāthas and *Akarmashis*. The Akarmashis are deemed to be descendants of slaves, and the Agris are representatives of an aboriginal race.[155]

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[154] See his *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 317.

[155] About the Kurmis compare Dr. Fr. Buchanan's *History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, vol. I, pp. 166, 283; vol. II, pp.

These facts seem to be conclusive evidence for the non-Aryan origin of the Kurmis and Kunbis. But what makes this tribe historically so interesting, is the circumstance that some of the chief Hindu dynasties of modern times such as the Rājas of *Sattāra*, the late Rājas of *Tanjore*, *Scindia* and others are of Kumbi extraction. The circumstance that the old Marāthi dialect has preserved the term *Kuḍumbi* enables us to trace the connection of these Kunbis with the Kuḍumbas or Kuṟumbas.

Considering the bravery and the fierceness of the ancient Kuṟumbas who were the dread and the bane of their neighbours, we need not be surprised if the fire of their martial disposition was not quite extinct in the otherwise plodding Kumbis, and that the genius of Śivāji and Ēkōji could kindle the spark into a blazing flame. If Sir George Campbell had suspected the origin of the Kumbis, he would

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468, 469 : "Next to the Ahirs the Kurmis here (in Gorukhpoor) hold the highest place; and in Parraona they obtained the whole property, although they were not able to secure the title of Raja. This, however, was bestowed on the family by the late Asfud-Doulah, but it gave great offence to the Rajputs, and has been discontinued. The families most nearly connected with the chiefs of Parraona, and some others, who were Chaudkuris of Pergunahs, are reckoned Ashraf, and scorn the plough. While a great many of the Saithawar and Patanawar tribes have become ashamed of the term Kurmi, and reject all additions to the names above-mentioned, although it is well known that they are Kurmis, and many of them are not ashamed of this name. On the right of the Sarayu this tribe is most commonly called Kunmi or Kunbi, which, in the account of Mysore, I have written Cunabi (see above p. 208 n. 109); for it is one of the most generally diffused and numerous tribes in India; and in Malawa has risen to great power by the elevation of Sindhiya to the government of Ujjain. This person was a Kurmi; but I am told, that at his capital the Kurmis are now reckoned Rajputs, as they would have been here had the Parraona family been a little more powerful. There is some reason to suspect, that their claim is better founded than that of many who have had more success; for it is alleged by many, that they are the same with the Tharus, whose claim to be descended of the family of the sun, is supported by many circumstances which must be allowed to have some weight, although I do not think them conclusive. If the Kurmis, however, are the same with the Tharus, they are at any rate descended of the most powerful, most civilized, and most ancient tribe, that has been sovereigns of the country since the time at least of the family of the sun. As the Tharus, however, are impure, the Kurmis strenuously deny the connection, they being

not have been so puzzled about the military element so conspicuous in their character.[156]

On the origin of the term Kadamba.

Having been able to recognize in the Kurmis or Kumbis the well-known Kuṛumbas or Kuḍumbas, I do not believe that I go too far by suggesting a similar explanation for the name of the famous Kadamba dynasty of ancient times. Only mysterious legends which connect its founder with the Kadamba tree are known about this royal race. I suspect that behind the name Kadamba lurks that of Kuḍumba or Kuṛumba, and that the former was originally an accidental alteration through variation of sound, which, in course of time, was accepted and used to obliterate the real origin of the ruling tribe. In this case, its ethnological status is ascertained, and I shall now enquire into the origin of the title Kadamba.

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nearly as pure as the Ahirs. They formerly ate wild pork, but now reject it, and will not acknowledge that they drink spirituous liquor. They keep widows as concubines. Their Gurus and Purohits are the same with those of the Ahirs."

Compare further Sir Henry M. Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary of Indian Terms*, vol. I, pp. 155, 157 ; H. H. Wilson's *Glossary*, pp. 302, 304 and 305, under *Kunbi* and *Kurmi* : "*Kurmi*, *Koormee* (H. کرمی, कुर्मी). The caste of agriculturists, or of a member of it, in Eastern and Central Hindustan, being the same, essentially, as the *Kunbis* of the west and south." Consult also Colonel Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 306, 308, 317–327 ; Sir George Campbell's *Ethnology of India*, pp. 40, 92–95 ; Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. I, pp. 323-325 ; vol. II, pp. 99–101, 187, 188 ; vol. III, pp. 150–152.

[156] See Sir George Campbell's *Ethnology of India*, p. 94 : "Nothing puzzled me more than this, viz., to understand whence came the great Maratta military element. In the Punjab one can easily understand the sources of Sikh power ; every peasant looks fit to be a soldier. But the great mass of the Maratta Koonbees look like nothing of the kind, and are the quietest and most obedient of humble and unwarlike cultivators. . Although the Koonbee element was the foundation of the Maratta power, though Sevajee and some of his chiefs were Koonbees, it appears that these people came almost exclusively from a comparatively small district near Sattara, a hilly region where, as I judge, the Koonbees are much mixed with numerous aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes of Mhars and others." Compare about the Kunbis also the *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, pp. 265–270.

Different legends are told to explain the name of the *Kaḍamba*, *Kadamba* or *Kādamba* dynasty.[157]

One story tells us that after the destruction of the demon *Tripura* a drop of perspiration fell from the forehead of Īśvara through the hollow of a Kadamba tree, and assumed the form of a man with three eyes and four arms. He was accordingly called *Trinētra* or *Trilōcana Kadamba*, became the founder of the Kadamba dynasty and erected near the *Sahya* mountain his capital *Vānavāśi*, also known as *Jayantīpura* or *Vaijayantīpura*.[158]

Another tradition relates that he was the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, who stayed for a certain period in the same mountain range, that he was born there eventually under a Kadambatree, whence the child obtained his name, and became a king in course of time.

These are the two most widely-spread reports, but according to another a Brahman of Yalgi underwent a severe penance in order to become a king through the favor of Madhukēśvara.[159] His penance was graciously accepted, and a divine voice informed him that he would be reborn as a peacock, that the person who would eat his head would become a king, that those who would partake of his breast would become ministers, and that those who would feast on the remainder of his body would become treasurers. The Brahman satisfied with this promise, went to *Kāśī*, where he killed himself with a spear and was reborn as a peacock. In such a state he roamed about in the forest and announced

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[157] See "A Kādamba Inscription at Siddhāpur" by K. B. Pāṭhak, B.A., in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, p. 273: "The name of the family seems to have been written differently, as Kaḍamba, Kadamba or Kādamba."

[158] Consult *Mackenzie MSS.*, Kanareso No. 744, II, pp. 208 *seq.*, further H. H. Wilson's Introduction to *The Mackenzie Collection*, pp. l., ci., old edition, pp. 60, 149, second edition; Mr. Lewis Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. I, pp. 193, 194, II, p. 352, and his *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xxxiii.

[159] See *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, Kanarese, No. 725, VI, pp. 99-102; H. H. Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, pp. ci, ciii, old edition; pp. 149, 150, new edition.

with a shrill voice that the person who would eat his head would become a king; until he fell into the hands of a gang of thieves, who were resting under a Kadamba tree. They killed the bird and asked a woman, *Puṣpavatī* by name, who was living near by, to cook the peacock and to distribute its flesh amongst them. While the woman was preparing the peacock, and the thieves were bathing, her son came home very hungry, and, as he wanted something to eat, his mother gave him the head of the bird in ignorance of what was in store for him who ate it. When he had eaten it, the thieves returned, partook of the remainder of the meat, but were astonished that after staying a while, none of them was proclaimed king. They fetched the woman, who, when hard pressed, told them what she had done, and that her son had eaten the head of the peacock. The thieves found that it was of no use to fight against destiny and submitted to their fate.

The king *Ānakapurandara* of Jayantīpura had died at that very time without leaving any living issue behind and, as was the custom in these circumstances, the ministers let the state elephant loose with a watervessel containing holy water. While thus roaming about, he came to the spot in the forest near which the son of Puṣpavatī was living close to the Kadamba tree. The elephant bowed down to the youth, who ascended the animal and was carried by him to Jayantīpura, where he was joyfully received, placed on the royal throne and anointed as king. He assumed henceforth the name Mayūravarma Kadamba and ruled for a long time gloriously over the country.

The election of a king is in Indian legends often entrusted to a state-elephant, and widely spread is also the belief that he who eats the head of a peacock becomes a king. The peacock is in Sanskrit called *Mayūra*, hence the name *Mayūravarma*, which the youth accepted. So far as the person and his origin are concerned, the two legends differ, as one refers to *Trinētra* and the other to *Mayūravarma*

Kadamba, but the Kadamba tree plays in both traditions a significant part.

As *Puṣpavatī* prepared the food for the thieves of which her son partook, and which she distributed among the thieves, one may assume with good reason that she belonged to the same caste as the thieves who caught the peacock, and these people I feel inclined to identify with the Kuṛumbas. The peacock plays an important part in the account of the settlement of the Kaḷḷas in the *Kaḍambavanam* or *Kaḍambāṭavi* of Madura. So far as the expression *thief* is concerned, it must not be forgotten that thieving or robbing was not considered disgraceful, if it was practised as a regular profession, just as *cattlelifting* did not in former times attach any stygma to those who indulged in it in the Highlands of Scotland.

The Kadamba tree, of which there exist various species, is much esteemed for its flowers which are sacred to the god *Skanda*, for its fragrant and highly esteemed powder which is used at religious ceremonies, for the juice which exudes from its stem, and for other reasons. Its name was spelt in various ways, *Kaḍamba* and *Kadamba*, and as it was originally an indigenous Indian plant, I presume that this term is also indigenous and Non-Aryan. I believe that the people and the dynasty, which we call Kadambas, were actually a branch of the Kuṛumbas, who had assumed a slightly modified designation by changing their name Kuṛumba into *Kaḍamba*, and that the stories about the Kadamba tree are inventions of later times in order to explain the coincidence. It is hardly necessary to restate here the resemblance between the *a* and *u* sounds, and to mention that the Kadamba plant is in various places of India called Kuduṁba.[160]

I have had occasion to allude to the peculiar mode of confederation prevalent among the Kuṛumbas and

[160] See the Rev. Dr. Morison Winslow's *Tamil and English Dictionary*, p. 219, "*Kaṭampam*, *Kaṭampu*, a flower tree." It is sacred to Skanda who is called *Kaṭampan*; Madura is called *Kaṭampavanam* or *Kaṭampāṭavi*. On p.

a similar institution is said to have existed among the Kaḍambas.[161]

Yet, what seems to establish the original identity between the Kuṟumbas and the Kaḍambas, is the fact that the term *Kaḍambá* is actually found in Tamil as a synonomous and identical expression for *Kuṟumba*, though this circumstance has up to now escaped the notice it really deserves.[162]

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236 we find "*Katampam*, *Katampu*, the Kadamba tree." In the common vernacular the Kadamba tree is often called *Kudumbu*, in Hindustani and Bengali it is known as *Kudum*.—Toddy is made from certain Kadamba trees, and the Marathas make mead from the Kadamba (*Anthocephalus Cadamba*). Compare Dr. Dymock's Anthropogonic Trees, *Bombay Anthropological Journal*, vol. I, p. 301. Parvatī (or Durgā) likes to dwell in the tree. Mr. Lewis Rice says on p. xxxiii in his *Mysore Inscriptions* that "the Kadamba tree appears to be one of the palms from which toddy is extracted." The Viṣṇupurāṇa (see H. H. Wilson's translation edited by Fitzedward Hall, vol. V, pp. 65, 66) reports, that "Varuṇa, in order to provide for his (Śēṣa's) recreation, said to (his wife) Vāruṇī (the goddess of wine): 'Thou, Madirā, art ever acceptable to the powerful Ananta. Go, therefore, auspicious and kind goddess, and promote his enjoyments.' Obeying these commands, Vāruṇī went and established herself in the hollow of a Kadamba-tree in the woods of Vrindāvana. Baladeva, roaming about (came there, and), smelling the pleasant fragrance of liquor, resumed his ancient passion for strong drink. The holder of the ploughshare, observing the vinous drops distilling from the Kadamba-tree, was much delighted, (and gathered) and quaffed them along with the herdsmen and the Gopīs, whilst those who were skilful with voice and lute celebrated him in their songs. Being inebriated (with the wine), and the drops of perspiration standing like pearls upon his limbs, he called out, not knowing what he said." (In a note to this is said: "Kadambarī is one of the synonyms of wine or spirituous liquor. The grammarians, however, also derive the word from some legend; stating it to be so called, because it was produced from the hollow of a Kadamba-tree on the Gomanta mountain.") According to the Bhāgavata the Kadamba-tree was placed on Supārśva; see Vishṇupurāṇa, vol. II, p. 116. In the Sanskrit Dictionary of Professors Böhtliugk and Roth we read in vol. I, p. 211: "*Kadambara* ein aus den Blumen der Nauclea Cadamba bereitetes berauschendes Getränk, n. मद्यभेद, H (ēmacandra) an. Med. f. ई diess. und A.K 2, 10, 40. H. 902, the rain-water which collects in clefts and hollow places of the tree (Nauclea Cadamba) when the flowers are in perfection, and which is supposed to be impregnated with the honey, *Carey* bei Haughton. कदम्बकोठरे जाता नाम्ना कादम्बरीति सा Hariv. 5417, fg."

[161] See p. 235.

[162] I have elsewhere pointed out the circumstance that the name of the rude and cruel Kuṟumbas was used in some South Indian Languages as an expression for cruelty; so that *Kuṟumban* denotes in Tamil and Malayālam

At a much later period we find the Kaḍambas connected with the last great dynasty of Southern India, the Rājas of Vijayanagara. The founders of this kingdom are also said to have been Kuṟumbas. If the first family of the Vijayanagara kings were Kuṟumbas, and on the other hand related to the once famous, but then decayed though not extinct royal house of the Kadambas of Tuluva, historical evidence, however slight, would have been adduced to establish the connection between the Kuṟumbas and the Kadambas, and this connection is in its turn supported by philological proof of the original identity of their names.[163]

I have thus in the preceding pages given an account of those more important sections of the Gaudian population whose identification offered the least difficulty, and who from time immemorial have occupied an acknowledged position among the inhabitants of India.

I have shown, moreover, that these Gaudians form together with the Dravidians the Gauda-Dravidian race, and

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a savage, a stubborn fellow, and *kuṟumbu* (or *kuṟumbuttanam*), barbarity, insolence and wickedness. The same word underwent a slight alteration, of *u* being changed into *a*, so that *Kadamban* signifies in both these languages *an unruly fellow*, and in Dr. Winslow's Dictionary we find on p. 219 "கடம்பர் (Kaṭampar), s. Unruly persons, குறும்பர் (Kuṟumpar)." The only explanation of the name *Kadamba* I remember to have seen, is contained in Mr. Grigg's *Manual of the Nīlagiri District*, where in note 4 on p. 208 he asks: "May not this word (Kadamba) be a compound of Kátu or Kátam (both meaning forest) and Kúrumba, and perhaps be the same as Kád-Kúrumba ?"

[163] See *The Mackenzie Collection* Introduction, p. civ; new edition, pp. 61, 62: "There is little doubt also that the first princes of *Vijayanagar* were descended from a *Tuluva* family of ancient origin and power, whose dominions extended towards the western sea: whether they were connected with the *Kadamba* family does not appear, but that this race continued to hold possessions in *Kernāta*, till near their time, is proved by grants at *Banavāsi*, *Savanur*, and *Gokernam*, dated in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by *Kadamba* kings." Compare also Mr. Lewis Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. III, p. 98: "In 1336 was founded the city of Vijayanagar, whose princes are said to have derived their origin from the Kadambas."

that though descended from the same stock and speaking the same language, these tribes separated in prehistoric times and subsequently became still more alienated from each other.

In spite of this fact, they continued to live intermingled in the same districts, though a gulf of hatred and of caste prejudice prevented them from coalescing. The cause of this separation of the two kindred tribes it is now impossible to ascertain, but the division has since been kept alive and, if anything, it may be still further widened in the future. A few exceptions to this mutual antipathy however occur, *e.g.*, in the case of the Bhīls and the Gonds.

It may perhaps not be out of place to remind my readers that I am quite aware that some of my propositions and conclusions may be challenged, but I trust that the principle which has guided me in this research will stand the test of time.

With these remarks I shall pass over to the third part, which will contain the final conclusions of this enquiry, supported as much as possible by such reliable evidence as I shall be able to collect.

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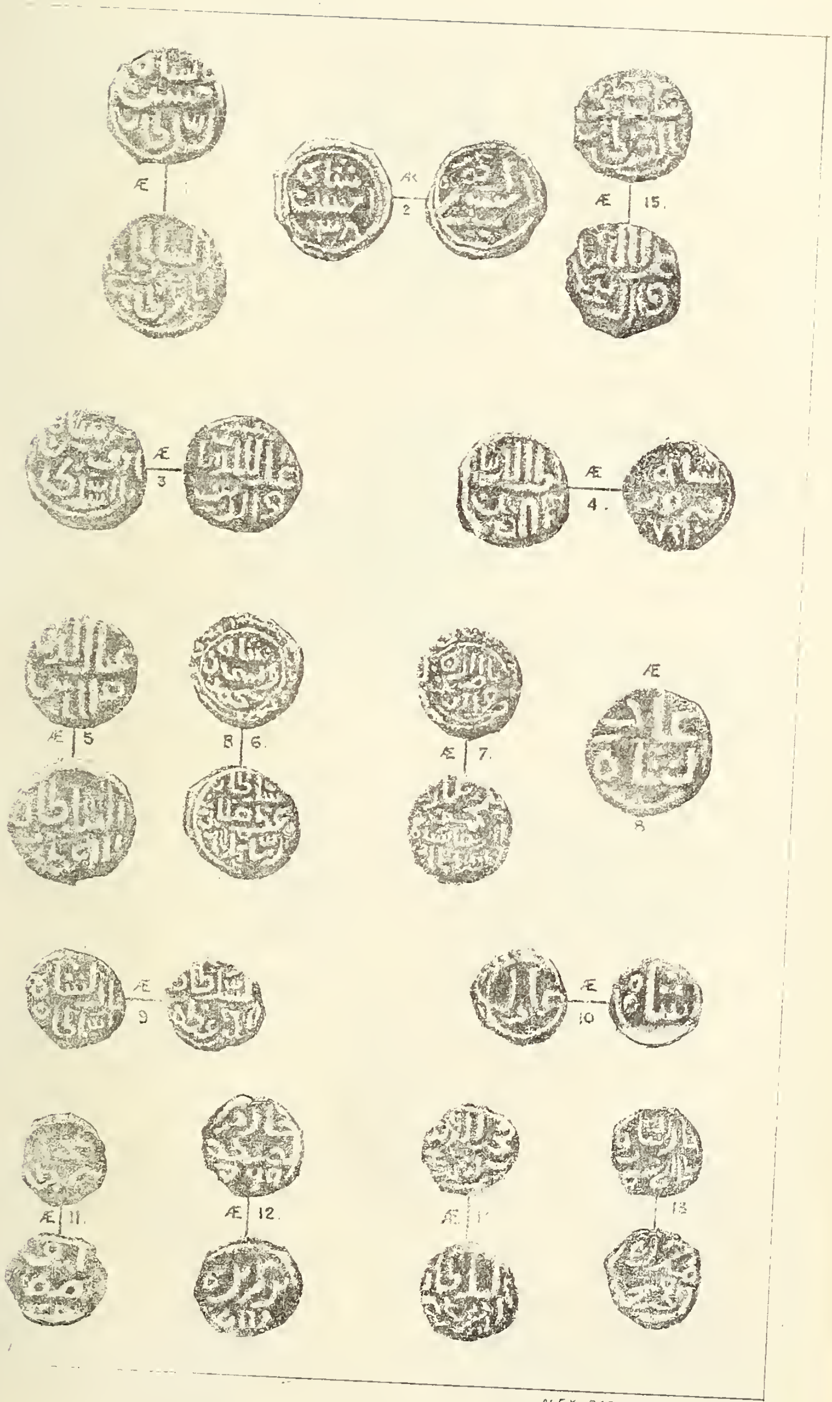

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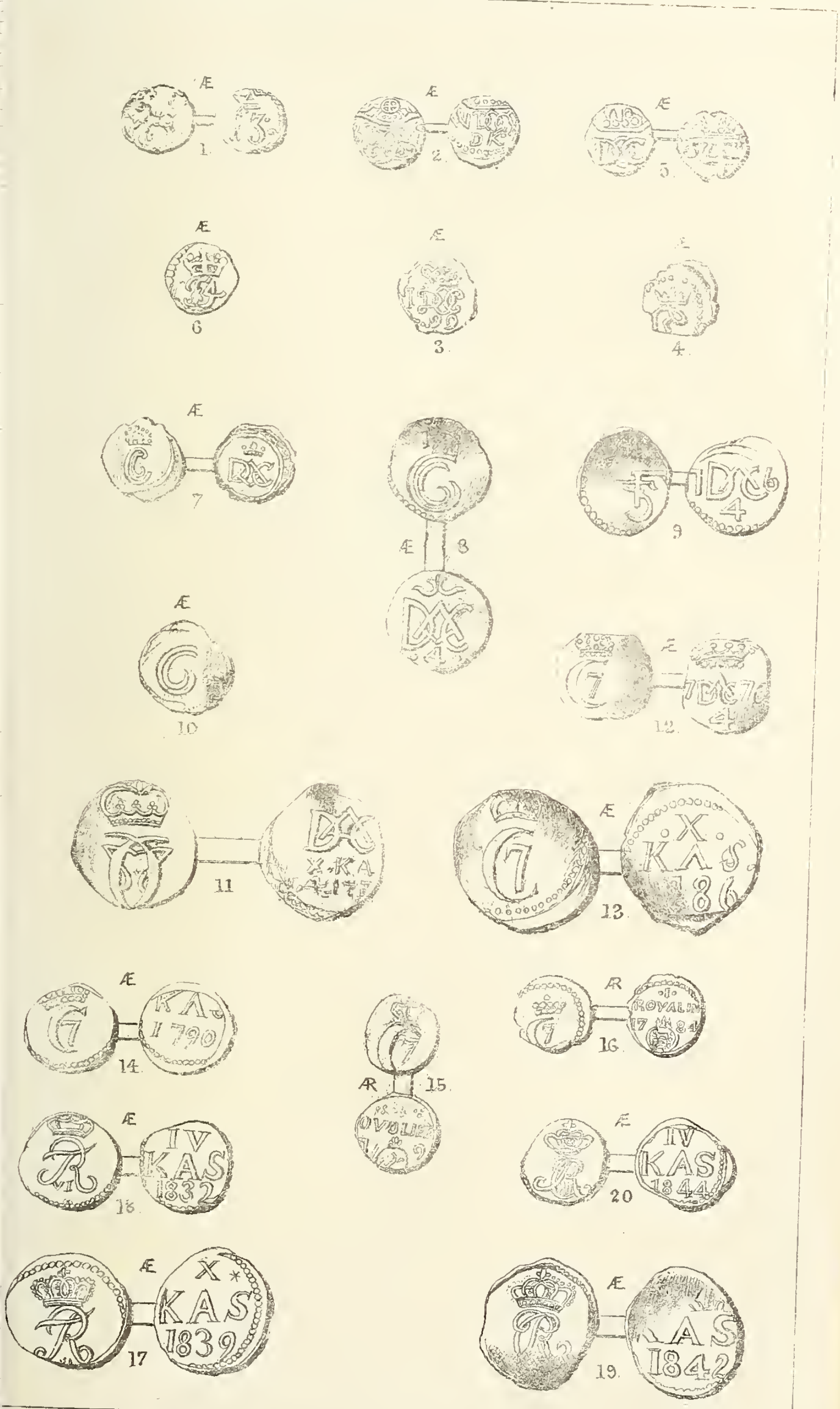

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